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THE

WORKS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D: D. S. P. D.

WITH

NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY

J. HAWKESWORTH, L. L. D.

AND OTHERS.

In EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

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PREFACE

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Four Laſt Years of QUEEN ANNE's Reign.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at Windſor, in the happy reign of her Majeſty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects in the year 1713: But being under a neceſſity of going to Ireland, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of St Patrick's, Dublin, I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my Lord Treaſurer Oxford, and the Secretary my Lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations, which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the German Family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed Parliament, brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr Harley, who was then Speaker.

But as I have ſaid, in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood ſome years before her Majeſty's death, how the new King would act, immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her Majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her Majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate, not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary, as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a Sovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon

on the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy, as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write, with the utmoſt impartiality, the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her Majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this Hiſtory, beſides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for theſe four years, by the chief perſons in power) were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well as inſtructions ſent them by our ſecretaries of ſtate, or by the firſt miniſter the Earl of Oxford. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to

mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering 300l. to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe *, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the Treaſurer and Secretary; but in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the Lord Treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this, to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning; particularly Mr Addiſon and Mr Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and, by his Lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr Steele might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeated indiſcretion, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt, or inclination, to palliate the miſtakes or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common, than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called Prime Miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate opinions. Old perſons remember, at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt Earl of Clarendon, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even Biſhop Burnet of Sarum, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the Treaſurer and Secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in Berkſhire, where I ſtaid untill her Majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once ſeeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the ſtyle: And if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for it was hardly poſſible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy under the obloquy, that may, perhaps, be caſt upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And yet, I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a Princeſs as her late Majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor; whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the Queen and both Houſes of Parliament, with the greateſt unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; That if the negotiators of that peace had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots for the intereſt of the Hanover family, they could not have bound

bound up the French King, or the Hollanders, more ſtrictly, than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

AN

AN
ENQUIRY
Into the BEHAVIOUR of the
QUEEN's LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR

QUARRELS among themſelves, and the DESIGN charged upon them of altering the Succeſſion of the Crown.

JUNE M, DCC, XV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude, that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: Beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in, have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former; I have not found the tranſition very difficult into

to a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and enquiring after news not being one of my diverſions, having always diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great diſtance from the ſeat of buſineſs; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifeſt that the hearts of moſt men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealouſies, or elſe with hatred and rage, to a degree that there ſeems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the conſequences of this may be, let thoſe conſider who have contributed to the cauſes: Which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late Miniſtry, much inſiſted on, and little underſtood by thoſe who write or talk upon that ſubject; wherein I am ſufficiently qualified to give ſatisfaction; and would gladly do it, becauſe I ſee very much weight laid upon each, and moſt men's opinions of perſons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's death, having loſt all hopes of any reconcilement between the Treaſurer and the reſt of the miniſtry; I retired into the country, to await the iſſue of that

conflict,

conflict, which ended, as every one had reaſon to foreſee, in the Earl of Oxford's diſgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately ſucceeded as firſt miniſter: And I was told, that an Earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff againſt the next Seſſion of Parliament; of which I can ſay nothing certain, being then in Berkſhire, and receiving this account from ſome of his friends. But all theſe ſchemes became ſoon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the firſt opportunity of withdrawing to my place of reſidence; and rejoiced as much as any man, for his Majeſty's quiet acceſſion to the throne; to which I then thought, and it has ſince appeared indiſputable, that the peace procured by the late miniſtry had, among other good effects, been highly inſtrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever ſince a loyal humble ſpectator during all the changes that have happened, although it were no ſecret to any man of common ſagacity, that his preſent Majeſty's choice of his ſervants, whenever he ſhould happen to ſucceed, would be determined to thoſe who moſt oppoſed the proceedings during the four laſt years of his predeceſſor's reign: And I think there hath not ſince happened one particular of any moment, which the miniſters did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the diſpoſitions

diſpoſitions of the Court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occaſions, publicly diſapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one perſon in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foreſee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to thoſe, who will conſider the nobleneſs of his birth, the great merits of his anceſtors, and his own; his long unſpotted loyalty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper, which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf; I have not converſed with a more faultleſs perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory, although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe who had the honour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and, therefore, I ſhall not preſume

ſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a Parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen his miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at Landen, for his Sovereign King William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive to the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy: And although the uncertainty of human things be one of the moſt obvious reflections in morality; yet, ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may, perhaps, be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend; whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and

chiefly confined myſelf to; ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.* Having already ſaid ſomething of the Duke of Ormond, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: Deſcended from the beſt families in England, heir to a great patrimonial eſtate, of a ſound conſtitution, and a moſt graceful, amiable perſon: But all theſe, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accompliſhments of his mind, which was adorned with the choiceſt gifts that God hath yet thought fit to beſtow upon the children of men; a ſtrong memory, a clear judgment, a vaſt range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehenſion, an invincible eloquence, with a moſt agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all theſe talents by travel and ſtudy, the latter of which he ſeldom omitted, even in the midſt of his pleaſures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a purſuer: For, although he was perſuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which

he did for ſome time to ſuch a degree, that he ſeemed rather abſtemious; yet he was ſaid to allow himſelf other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reaſon to believe, he began to be ſenſible. But he was fond of mixing pleaſure and buſineſs, and of being eſteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great reſpect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, eſpecially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to reſemble. His detractors charged him with ſome degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; ſince it was hardly poſſible for a young man, with half the buſineſs of the nation upon him, and the applauſe of the whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negociator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but underſtanding men, of both parties, have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of Oxford is a perſon of as much virtue, as can poſſibly conſiſt with the love of power;

power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance that ever fell within my memory, or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceiveable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the Veres and the Mortimers, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf, and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good-nature, and good-humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his miniſtry, when he began to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning; particularly the former, whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember

ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much, as by appearing uneaſy when the dealers in that kind of writing firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgment. In drawing up any ſtate paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtyle was not always correct, which, however, he knew to mend; yet, often, to ſave time, he would leave the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſtitution; the reputation whereof made him be choſen Speaker to three ſucceſſive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with univerſal applauſe: His ſagacity was ſuch, that I could produce very amazing inſtances of it, if they were not unſeaſonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be purſued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the miniſtry have confeſſed very often to me, that after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themſelves in the wrong. He

was

was utterly a ſtranger to fear; and, conſequently, had a preſence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were ſuch, that he almoſt ruined his eſtate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was ſo great, that it neither conſiſted with the preſent corruptions of the age, nor the circumſtances of the time. He was ſeldom miſtaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the repreſentation of others; except toward the end of his miniſtry. He was affable and courteous, extremely eaſy and agreeable in converſation, and altogether diſengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expreſſions, that could poſſibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at leaſt, as obvious, although not ſo numerous as his virtues. He had an air of ſecrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great miniſter, becauſe it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: And I the rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper, becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: Of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the preſent Lord Sommers, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confi-

dence, would eaſily unlock the breaſts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuſe of this charge, that he hath ſeldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched, than his ſovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the Queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his diſappointed ſolicitors would believe. It may be likewiſe ſaid of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not underſtand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us uſed to obſerve, that thoſe whom he talked well of, or ſuffered to be often near him, were not in a ſituation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with

contempt,

contempt, or diſlike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, becauſe I have obſerved it ſo often miſtaken by the wiſe reaſoners of both parties: Beſides, having had the honour, for almoſt four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him, than uſually happens to men of my level, and this without the leaſt mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am ſure it is in my will, to repreſent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often conſidered the qualities and diſpoſitions of thoſe two miniſters, I am at a loſs to think how it ſhould come to paſs, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear ſo many examples, both ancient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is uſually imputed in the caſes of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Scipio, and others, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Stafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordinations of power, hath made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius,

whereof

whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates. Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men to have been cauſed by the neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hinderances;* which is made by Hobbes the definition of Magnanimity: And this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in general, ſo it giveth offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal: For, I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And therefore, men thus qualified, may very *reaſonably* and juſtly think, that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themſelves excell. For I have frequently obſerved more cauſes of diſcontent ariſe from the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act in common buſineſs, out of the common road, than from all

the

the uſual topics of diſpleaſure againſt men in power. It is the ſame thing in other ſcenes of life, and among all ſocieties or communities; where no men are better truſted, or have more ſucceſs in buſineſs, than thoſe who, with ſome honeſty, and a moderate portion of underſtanding, are ſtrict obſervers, of time, place, and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expoſe men to the cenſure and obloquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt or neglect of theſe circumſtances, however attended with a ſuperior genius, and an equal deſire of doing good: Which hath made me ſometimes ſay, to a great perſon of this latter character, that a ſmall infuſion of the *Alderman* was neceſſary to thoſe who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occaſion, I cannot forget a very trifling inſtance: That one day obſerving the ſame perſon to divide a ſheet of paper with a penknife, the ſharpneſs of the inſtrument occaſioned its moving ſo irregularly and crooked, that he ſpoiled the whole ſheet; whereupon I adviſed him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little ſtrength, and a ſteady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digreſſion: About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral

of

of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected, was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other, for no viſible cauſe, and thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of theſe gentlemen's diſpleaſure fell upon the Earl of Oxford; that he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the intereſt of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with the adverſe party: That, either from his negligence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the reſt of the miniſters. Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four biſhoprics undiſpoſed of, though often moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion, the church-intereſt of that kingdom, in the Houſe of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe who diſcourſed with me after this manner, did, at the ſame time, utterly renounce all regard

regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleaſure, the glorious opportunity, then in his Majeſty's hands, of putting an end to party-diſtinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehenſion that ſeemed to give them any uneaſineſs, was, leſt the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, repreſent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other ſide, the gainers, and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different ſtyle: They all directly aſſerted, that the whole late miniſtry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would ſometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the ſame accuſation, without any reſerve, upon the late Queen herſelf: That, if her Majeſty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to uſe their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) *things were not ripe.* That this accuſation would, in a ſhort time, infallibly be proved as clear as the ſun at noon-day to all the world: And the conſequences naturally following from theſe poſitions, were, that the leaders ought to loſe their heads, and all their abettors be utterly ſtript of power and favour.

Theſe being the ſentiments and diſcourſes of both parties, tending to load the late miniſtry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps,

perhaps, be either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe miniſters are anſwerable to their friends, for their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſentions; and, ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral Treatiſes, of which the one is an hiſtory, and the other memoirs, of particular facts; but neither of them fit to ſee the light at preſent, becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time, I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen, ſome years hence, to read the hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it, were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice, or ill will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice. For I have always held it as maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice: Becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: And I know a certain Lord*, not long ſince

 dead,

* Earl of Wharton.

dead, who, I am very confident, would not have diſpoſed of one ſingle ſhilling, to have had it in his choice, whether he ſhould be repreſented to future ages, as an *Atticus*, or a *Cataline*.

However, being firmly reſolved, for *very material reaſons*, to avoid giving the leaſt offence to any party or perſon in power; I ſhall barely ſet down ſome facts and circumſtances, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, which at preſent are little known; and whereby thoſe of the church-party, who object againſt the unſteadineſs, neglect, and want of concert in the late miniſtry, may better account for their faults. Moſt of thoſe facts I can bear witneſs of myſelf, and have received the reſt from ſufficient authority.

It is moſt certain, that when the Queen firſt began to change her ſervants, it was not from a diſlike of things, but of perſons,—and theſe perſons were a very ſmall number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the iſſue of Dr Sacheverel's trial, that encouraged her to proceed ſo far; and ſeveral of the Low-church party, knowing that her diſpleaſure went no further than againſt one ſingle family, did not appear to diſlike what was done; of which I could give ſome * extraordinary inſtances. But that famous trial had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the nation, againſt the parliament, that her Majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, which,

* Duke of Somerſet.

I am confident, ſhe did not at firſt intend. Upon this reſolution, delivered by the Queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord Sommers, then preſident; ſome, who were willing to ſacrifice one or two perſons, would not ſacrifice their cauſe, but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments, which the Queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe who knew her beſt thought to be real, eſpecially Lord Sommers and Lord Cowper, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then miniſter) from a refinement of his politics, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I know not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the Queen expected or deſired: She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs; nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her

her death: But this neither the Houſe of Commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture ſince: Several country-members, to almoſt a third part of the Houſe, began immediately to form themſelves into a body, under a fantaſtic name of the *October-club*. Theſe daily preſſed the miniſtry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealouſy and diſcontent. I remember it was then commonly underſtood and expected, that when the ſeſſion ended, a general removal would be made: But it happened otherwiſe; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was uſed in ſupplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime miniſter, I confeſs, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little ſatisfied with the ſolution I had heard, and partly knew, that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not anſwer, and that in the mean-time he led ſo uneaſy a life, by ſolicitations and purſuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his miniſtry, I did, at the requeſt of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, take the liberty of repreſenting this matter to him. His anſwer was ſhort and cold: That he hoped his friends would truſt him; that he heartily wiſhed none but thoſe who loved the

church and Queen, were employed; but that all things could not be done on a ſudden. I have reaſon to believe, that his neareſt acquaintance were then wholly at a loſs what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preſerve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and, beſides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the Queen his miſtreſs, who was grown very poſitive, ſlow, and ſuſpicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *adviſed*: So that few miniſters had ever perhaps a harder game to play, between the jealouſy and diſcontents of his friends on one ſide, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendſhip, in appearance, than what I obſerved between thoſe three great men, who were then chiefly truſted: I mean the Lords of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the firſt, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and ſaid, I would venture to prophecy, that however inconſtant our court had hitherto been, their miniſtry would certainly laſt; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their ſide. Then it happened, that the public

good,

good, and their private intereſt, had the ſame bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the ſhare of men in power: But, principally, becauſe I obſerved they heartily loved one another; and I did not ſee how their kindneſs could be diſturbed by competition, ſince each of them ſeemed contented with his own diſtrict: So that, notwithſtanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendſhips to be of no long duration, I was confident their's would laſt as long as their lives. But, it ſeems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiſer than I, who lived to ſee this friendſhip firſt degenerate into indifference and ſuſpicion, and thence corrupt into the greateſt animoſity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the diſcredit of me and my ſagacity. By what degrees, and from what cauſes their diſſentions grew, I ſhall, as far as it may be ſafe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr Harley was ſtabbed by Guiſcard, the writer of a weekly paper called the *Examiner*, taking occaſion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumſtance, I know not upon what grounds, that the French aſſaſſin confeſſed he at firſt intended to have murdered Mr Secretary St John; who ſitting at too great a diſtance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the ſecretary had been thus informed, or was content that others ſhould believe it, I never yet could learn: But nothing

could be more unfortunate, than the tendency of ſuch a report, which, by a very unfair diviſion, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr St John, and left Mr Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which although he had a ſufficient ſhare, (his phyſicians being often under apprehenſions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illneſs was a period of more quiet and eaſe, than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr Harley's friends; and the rather becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by Guiſcard's confeſſion.

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the Secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men: And it was conceived, that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr Harley ſhould die; although, at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr St John, by repeating what he ſaid to me with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill diſſembler) That, if Mr Harley's accident ſhould prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loſs: That, as things then ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That, as to himſelf, he was not maſter of the ſcheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen; neither did he ſee how it would be poſſible for them,

them, in ſuch a caſe, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over particular in ſo nice a point, thus much is certain, that ſome things happened during Mr Harley's confinement, which bred a coldneſs and jealouſy between thoſe two great men; and theſe, increaſing by many ſubſequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr Harley's recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, it was, after ſome time, given to another great Lady *, wholly in the intereſts of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her Majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the Queen's ſervants put together. Of this Lady's character and ſtory having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may one day ſee the light, I ſhall only obſerve, that, as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the Queen, following the courſe of her

* Ducheſs of Somerſet.

her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, uſed to divert her Majeſty from this choice; but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, that if ſhe might not have liberty to chuſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change of her miniſtry: And ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a High-church or Tory adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the preſent proceedings: Nor do I remember that any removal of conſequence was made, till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleaſed to prepare and offer a vote, in the Houſe of Lords, againſt any peace, while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the miniſters had early notice; and, by caſting up the numbers, concluded they ſhould have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The Queen was deſired, and promiſed, to ſpeak to a certain Lord who was looked upon as dubious. That Lord attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her Majeſty, although ſhe afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The Treaſurer, who truſted to promiſes, and reckoned that others would truſt to his, was, by a moſt unſeaſonable piece of parſimony, groſsly deceived; and the vote carried againſt the court. The

Queen

Queen had the curioſity to be preſent at the debate; and appeared ſo little diſpleaſed at the event, or againſt thoſe from whom ſhe might have expected more compliance, that a * perſon in high ſtation among her domeſtics, who, that day in her preſence, had ſhewn his utmoſt eloquence (ſuch as it was) againſt the miniſters, received a particular † mark of diſtinction and favour, which, by his poſt, he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her ſervice, but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain, that this vote could not have been carried, if ſome perſons very near her Majeſty, had not given aſſurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour ſeemed to confirm.

But when the conſequences of this vote were calmly repreſented to her, That the limitation ſpecified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in caſe the recovery of Spain ſhould be found impoſſible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the oppoſite party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, eſpecially with annual additions: That other expedients might poſſibly be found, for preventing France and Spain from being united under the ſame king, according to the intent and letter

* Duke of Somerſet.

† To lead out the Queen.

letter of the grand alliance: That the deſign of this vote was to put her Majeſty under the neceſſity of diſſolving the parliament, beginning all things a-new, and placing the adminiſtration in the hands of thoſe whom ſhe had thought fit to lay aſide, and this by ſacrificing her preſent ſervants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious conſiderations, not very proper at this time to be repeated. Her Majeſty, who was earneſtly bent upon giving peace to her people, conſented to fall upon the ſole expedient, that her own coldneſs, or the Treaſurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, ſufficient to turn the balance in the Houſe of Lords. I confeſs, that, in my hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjecture, that, if this were the Treaſurer's counſel, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome further views, than that of avoiding the conſequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution, to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually turned towards thoſe, who, in the party-term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made

to

to the Peerage, and the Biſhops bench almoſt wholly renewed. But the majority of landed men, ſtill retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert them, the late King was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well, as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous under all diſcouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her Majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And, indeed, upon that footing things ſtood for ſome time: But a new war being reſolved on, three perſons, who had moſt credit with her Majeſty, and who were then looked upon to be at leaſt as high principled as could poſſibly conſiſt with the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having conſulted their friends, began to conceive that the military ſpirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen againſt France, more ſanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better verſed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been ſo long uſed. There were ſome other motives for this tranſition of the miniſters at that time, which are more proper for the Hiſtory above mentioned, where

where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern, by what they call a Low-church miniſtry, which continued for ſeveral years: 'Till at length grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and ſucceſs; and the nation riſing into a flame, (whether juſtly or no) upon the trial of Dr Sacheverel, which, in effect, was a general muſter of both parties; her Majeſty, following her own inclinations, and thoſe of her people, reſolved to make ſome changes in the miniſtry, and take Mr Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge againſt that miniſter ſays, *by the baſeſt inſinuations;* upon which, being a determination of Parliament, I ſhall not diſpute: Although I confeſs to have received a very different account of that matter from a moſt excellent Lady, upon whoſe veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her miſtreſs, muſt needs know a particular fact wherein ſhe was immediately concerned and truſted, better than any one man or number of men, except the majority of a Houſe of Commons.

When the new Parliament met, whoſe elections were left entirely to the people, without the leaſt influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation out-numbered the other, and eſpecially in the ſeveral counties. But, in the Houſe of Lords, even after ſome management, there was but a

weak and crazy majority: Nor even could this have been expected, if ſeveral great Lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly inſtrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Argyll, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and ſome others, who certainly came into the Queen's meaſures upon other motives than that of party. Now, ſince the government of England cannot go on while the two Houſes of Parliament are in oppoſition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: One of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be done; either, firſt to diſſolve that Parliament, and call another of the Whig-ſtamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor ſafe, and perhaps, at that time, hardly feaſible: Or elſe, to turn the balance in the Houſe of Lords; which, after the ſucceſs of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwiſe to be done, than by creating a ſufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the Queen and her people eaſy upon that article for the reſt of her reign. And this I ſhould be willing to think was the Treaſurer's meaning, when he adviſed thoſe advancements; which, however, I confeſs, I did very much diſlike.

But if, after all I have ſaid, my conjecture ſhould happen to be wrong; yet I do not ſee how the Treaſurer can juſtly be blamed for pre-

ſerving his cauſe, his friends, and himſelf, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps, he was brought under that neceſſity, by the want of proper management; but when that neceſſity appeared, he could not act otherwiſe, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of thoſe times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had ſo lately got rid of. And, I believe, no miniſter of any party would, in his circumſtances, have ſcrupled to make the ſame ſtep, when the *ſumma rerum* was at ſtake.

Although the Queen was brought into this meaſure, by no other motive than her earneſt deſire of a peace; yet the Treaſurer's friends began to preſs him, a-new, for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was paſt, that his credit was great enough to compaſs whatever he pleaſed. But this proved to be ill reaſoning; for the Queen had no diſlike at all to the other party, (whatever perſonal piques ſhe might bear to ſome among them) further than as ſhe conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her Majeſty reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end as ſhe could with honour and ſafety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readineſs enough, into the methods propoſed to her for advancing that great work. But, in diſpenſing her favours, ſhe was extremely cautious

and

and ſlow; and, after the uſual miſtake of thoſe who think they have been often impoſed on, became ſo very ſuſpicious, that ſhe overſhot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a perſon happened to be recommended as uſeful for her ſervice, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, ſhe would conſent; but, if the Treaſurer offered, at the ſame time, a warrant, or other inſtrument, to her already prepared in order to be ſigned, becauſe he preſumed to reckon upon her conſent before-hand, ſhe would not; and thus the affair would ſometimes lie for ſeveral months together, although the thing were ever ſo reaſonable, or that even the public ſuffered by the delay. So that this miniſter had no other remedy, but to let her Majeſty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longeſt that the nature of the thing could ſuffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr Secretary St John, whoſe merits and pretenſions, as things then ſtood, were far ſuperior to any, was purpoſely left out, becauſe the court had need of his great abilities, the following ſeſſion, in the Houſe of Commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was beſt able to explain and juſtify the ſeveral ſteps towards it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reaſon, and univerſal applauſe. When the ſeſſion was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that he might not loſe his rank, created him Viſ-

count. There had been an Earldom in his name and family, lately extinct; (though a Barony fell to a collateral branch in the perſon of an infant); and the Secretary, being of the ſame houſe, expected and deſired the ſame degree. For he reaſoned, that, making him a Viſcount, would be but rigorous juſtice, and he hoped he might pretend to ſome mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with; becauſe, to ſay the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; ſome women about the court having infuſed an opinion into her, that he was not ſo regular in his life as he ought to be. The Secretary laid the whole blame of this diſappointment upon the Earl of Oxford; and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendſhip as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was neceſſary for carrying on the public ſervice. And although I have good reaſon to be aſſured, that the Treaſurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himſelf and Lady Maſham then proteſted to me, yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were ſo ſtrong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The diviſions between theſe two great men began to ſplit the court into parties: Harcourt, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Argyll, Sir William Windham, and one or two more, adhered to the Secretary; the reſt were either neuters, or inclined to the Treaſurer, whether

ther from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his myſterious and procraſtinating manner in acting; which the ſtate of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and muſt have rendered the Earl of Oxford inexcuſable, if the Queen's obſtinate temper had not put him under the neceſſity of exerting thoſe talents, wherewith, it muſt be confeſſed, his nature was already too well provided.

This miniſter had ſtronger paſſions than the Secretary, but kept them under ſtricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are ſuperior to common rules, he ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of diſguiſing, or ſubduing his reſentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of ſtate, as the Earl was too reſerved, ſo, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying ſecrets; although the graver counſellors imputed this liberty of ſpeech to vanity, or lightneſs. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diverſions, their ſtudies, their ways of tranſacting buſineſs, their choice of company, or manner of converſation.

The Queen, who was well informed of theſe animoſities among her ſervants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cauſe, began to find and lament the ill conſequences of them in her affairs, both at home

and abroad, and to lay the blame upon her Treaſurer, whoſe greateſt fault, in his whole miniſtry, was too much compliance with his Miſtreſs, by which his meaſures were often diſconcerted, and himſelf brought under ſuſpicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of Oxford, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one ſtep in politics, which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen firſt thought of making a change among her ſervants, after Dr Sacheverel's trial, my Lady Maſham was very much heard and truſted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr Harley was admitted into her Majeſty's preſence. That Lady was then in high favour with her Miſtreſs, which, I believe, the Earl was not ſo very ſedulous to cultivate or preſerve, as if he had it much at heart; nor was altogether ſorry, when he ſaw it under ſome degree of declination. The reaſons for this muſt be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for ſuch a refinement, becauſe it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this Lady muſt have a ſucceſſor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obſtruct his proceedings. My Lady Maſham was a perſon of a plain ſound underſtanding; of great truth and ſincerity, without the leaſt mixture of falſehood or diſguiſe; of an honeſt boldneſs

neſs and courage, ſuperior to her ſex; firm and diſintereſted in her friendſhip, and full of love, duty, and veneration, for the Queen her Miſtreſs: talents as ſeldom found, or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: So that nothing could be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldneſs between this lady and the firſt miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer or connive at the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly ſaw removed very diſadvantageouſly to another * object, and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk in the only domeſtic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the Earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: But this her Majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the Queen fell dangerouſly ſick at Windſor, about Chriſtmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's houſe.

* The Ducheſs of Somerſet.

houſe. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the Queen's illneſs, to the Treaſurer, who was then in town; and, in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to Windſor till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face; and the account given of the confuſion and diſtraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived. Upon which the Treaſurer ſaid to me, "Whenever any thing ails the Queen, "theſe people are out of their wits; and yet "they are ſo thoughtleſs, that, as ſoon as ſhe is "well, they act as if ſhe were immortal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and that ſome ſhare of it might with juſtice be applied to himſelf.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was, indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation; which however would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her Majeſty, being well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the Queen immediately

diately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts, and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old Engliſh principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She, therefore, determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods, that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to, for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the Treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been then thoroughly perſuaded, that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could not eaſily foreſee any objections, or difficulties, that the Earl of Oxford would make. I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the * General, by telling both of them, (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of each other; and by convincing the latter, of what advantage ſuch an union muſt be to her Majeſty's ſervice. There was an affair, upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horſe and foot guards appointed to attend on the Queen's

* The Duke of Ormond.

Queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took every occaſion, with great freedom and bitterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry, upon the ſubject of the peace and Pretender, not without many groſs expreſſions againſt the Queen herſelf; ſuch as, I ſuppoſe, will hardly be thought on, or attempted, but certainly not ſuffered under the preſent powers. Which proceeding, beſides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her Majeſty's perſon might be better guarded than by ſuch keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the General or firſt miniſter, adjourned to publiſh their diſaffection in coffee-houſes and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was propoſed, that ten or a dozen of the leaſt diſcreet among theſe gentlemen, ſhould be obliged to ſell their poſts in the guards: And that two or three, who had gone the greateſt lengths, ſhould have a price fixed for their commiſſions, ſomewhat below the exorbitant rate uſually demanded for a few years paſt. The Duke of Ormond deſired but ten thouſand pounds to make the matter eaſy to thoſe officers who were to ſucceed; which ſum, his Grace told me, the Treaſurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded preſent want of money. And I cannot but ſay, that having often, at the Duke's deſire, preſſed this miniſter to advance the money, he gave me ſuch anſwers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expoſtulating

ing ſome days after with him upon the ſame ſubject, after great expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning ſome ill treatment he had received from his friends, he ſaid, he knew not why he ſhould do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the Duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left of any conſequence in her Majeſty's ſervice. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Maſham, openly declared againſt him: To whom were joined the Biſhop of * Rocheſter, and ſome others. Dartmouth, then Privy-ſeal, and Paulet, Lord Steward, ſtood neuters. The Duke of Shrewſbury hated the Treaſurer, but ſacrificed all reſentments to eaſe, profit and power; and was then in Ireland acting a part directly oppoſite to the court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account: So that the Earl of Oxford ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the Queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff. Which, however, as conjectures then ſtood, he was not able to obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done, while the Parliament ſate, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially

* Dr Atterbury.

cially in the Houſe of Lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the Treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her Majeſty's ſervice, except the Duke of Shrewſbury, and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion; the Queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at Windſor, had the like diſpoſitions; and, I think, it may appear from ſeveral paſſages already mentioned, that the blame of thoſe delays, ſo often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the ſtate of things was very much changed by ſeveral incidents: The Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Maſham, had entirely forſaken him, upon ſuſpicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on miſtake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear: And, as he firſt leſſened his confidence with the Queen, by preſſing her upon thoſe very points, for which his friends accuſed him that they were not performed; ſo, upon her change of ſentiments, after her recovery, he loſt all favour and credit with her, for not ſeconding thoſe new reſolutions from which ſhe had formerly been ſo averſe. Beſides, he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it

was hardly poſſible the Queen could ſurvive many months: In which caſe he muſt of neceſſity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the ſucceſſor, and of that party which muſt then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if her Majeſty ſhould hold out longer than it was reaſonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that muſt procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be diſcharged in diſpleaſure. Upon theſe reaſons he continued his excuſes to the Duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and, during the ſix laſt months of his miniſtry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the buſineſs of his office. That whole period was nothing elſe but a ſcene of murmuring and diſcontent, quarrel and miſunderſtanding, animoſity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him: She complained of his ſilence and ſullenneſs; and, in return, gave him every day freſh inſtances of neglect or diſpleaſure.

The original of this quarrel among the miniſters, which had been attended with ſo many ill conſequences, began firſt between the Treaſurer and Lord Bolingbroke, from the cauſes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the Treaſurer had dealt with leſs reſerve, or the Lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him,

which ſo ſincere a friend might reaſonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both ſides had not too much obſerved the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a ſhrug, was the conſtant anſwer I received from moſt of them, whenever I preſſed them upon the ſubject. I cannot tell whether my Lord Trevor may be excepted, becauſe I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr Prior, who was much loved and eſteemed by them both, as he well deſerved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private converſation, might have been the propereſt perſon for ſuch a work, if he could have thought it to conſiſt with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was abſent, in France, at thoſe junctures when it was chiefly neceſſary. And to ſay the truth, moſt perſons had ſo avowedly declared themſelves on one ſide or the other, that theſe two great men had not already a common friend left, except myſelf. I had ever been treated with great kindneſs by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with ſincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had conſtant experience of. I had managed between them for almoſt two years; and their candour was ſo great, that they had not the leaſt

jealouſy

jealouſy or ſuſpicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the Queen's being laſt at Windſor, I put them in a coach, to go thither by appointment without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good underſtanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three biſhoprics for ſome time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the Earl of Oxford, that one of them ſhould be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the Queen, and approved by her; but, upon ſome difficulties not worth mentioning, the Queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed: I preſſed the Treaſurer every week while her Majeſty was at Windſor, and every day after her return, to finiſh this affair, as a point of great conſequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of ſo many excuſes, I fell into ſome paſſion, when his Lordſhip freely told me, that he had been earneſt with the Queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the laſt fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died: And, two nights after, ſitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Maſham's lodgings at St James's, for ſome hours; I told the Treaſurer, that, having deſpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only ſtaid ſome time longer to forward the diſpoſal of thoſe

biſhoprics in Ireland, which ſince his Lordſhip told me was out of his power. I now reſolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redreſs, nor endure the ſight of: That, before I left them, I deſired they would anſwer me two queſtions: Firſt, Whether theſe miſchiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and, ſecondly, Whether, upon the preſent foot, the miniſtry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord Bolingbroke anſwered to each queſtion in the affirmative, and approved of my reſolution to retire; but the Treaſurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only deſired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkſhire, to await the iſſue, which ended in the removal of my Lord Treaſurer, and, three days after, in her Majeſty's death.

Thus I have, with ſome pains, recollected ſeveral paſſages, which I thought were moſt material for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who appear ſo much at a loſs upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late miniſtry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to ſee perſons of great and undiſputed abilities, called by the Queen to her ſervice, in the place of others, with whoſe proceedings ſhe was diſguſted, and with great ſatisfaction to the clergy, the landed intereſt, and body of the people, running on a ſudden, into ſuch a common beaten court track of ruin, by diviſions among themſelves; not only without a viſible

cauſe,

cauſe, but with the ſtrongeſt appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the uſual excuſe of evil inſtruments, or cunning adverſaries, to blow the coals of diſſention; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cauſe of theſe misfortunes to the Queen, who, from the variety of hands ſhe had employed, and reaſonings ſhe had heard ſince her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating ſchemes, which, as things then ſtood, were by no means reducible to practice: She had likewiſe a good ſhare of that adherence to her own opinions, which is uſually charged upon her ſex; and, laſtly, (as I before obſerved) having received ſome hints that ſhe had formerly been too much governed, ſhe grew very difficult to be adviſed.

The next in fault was the Treaſurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom ſeemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himſelf; from a known principle of ſtate-prudence, that a firſt miniſter muſt always preſerve the reputation of power: But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The Queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a

chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving, at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the miniſters, and one or two friends of the Treaſurer, conſtantly met to dine, at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain Lord, who perpetually oppoſed the Queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſides other advantages, gave that Lord the power of chuſing ſeveral members of parliament. The Treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, that this was whipping day: Upon which the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, ſaid, It was a ſtrange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own innocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge, and the Chancellor's, (who was then alſo preſent), the Treaſurer had frequently and earneſtly moved the Queen upon that very point, without effect: Whereupon the miniſter, finding himſelf preſſed ſo far, told the company, that he had at laſt prevailed with her Majeſty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an inſtance of the Earl of Oxford's diſpoſition to preſerve ſome reputation of power in himſelf, and remove all blame from

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the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent caſe; but how far juſtifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the Treaſurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himſelf: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the miniſtry having been effected, without any intervention of their's, by him and Lady Maſham; but, likewiſe, from the conſequence of that change, whereby the greateſt employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common juſtice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than ſuſpect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or miſtake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the Treaſurer, that having myſelf, upon many occaſions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the Earl's conduct upon certain points, the Secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether miſtaken.

Laſtly, I cannot excuſe the remiſſneſs of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been, as it certainly was their intereſt, to have interpoſed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the miniſters: But of this I have already ſpoken.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Written about a year after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing upon the other head, relating to the deſign of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing ſide aſſured me, that the whole myſtery would be ſoon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cauſe upon that iſſue. This diſcovery we all expected from the report of the Secret Committee: But, when the treatiſe appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it rather to be the work of a luxuriant fancy, an abſolute ſtate-pamphlet, arguing for a cauſe, than a dry recital of facts, or a tranſcript of letters; and for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themſelves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in perſonal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gaultier; which muſt needs be a doctrine hard of digeſtion to thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge either of the Earl or the Abbé, or upon what foot the latter ſtood at that time with the Engliſh miniſtry. I conceive, that whoever is at

diſtance

diſtance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a meſſenger, will be as eaſily brought to believe all the Popiſh legends together. And to make ſuch an aſſertion, in a public report delivered to the Houſe of Commons, without the leaſt attempt to prove it, will ſome time or other be reckoned ſuch a ſtrain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spaniſh romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treaſon drawn up againſt the Earl, were not altogether founded upon the report; or at leaſt, that thoſe important hints about bringing in the Pretender, were more proper materials to furniſh out a pamphlet, than an impeachment, ſince this accuſation hath no part even among the high crimes and miſdemeanors.

But, notwithſtanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years reſidence in the Tower, was at length diſmiſſed without any trial; yet the reproach ſtill went on, that the Queen's laſt miniſtry, in concert with their Miſtreſs, were deeply engaged in a deſign to ſet the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accuſation, I impute to the great goodneſs of thoſe in power, who are ſo gracious to aſſign a reaſon, or at leaſt give a countenance for that ſudden and univerſal ſweep they thought fit to make on their firſt appearance; whereas they might as well have ſpared that ceremony, by a ſhort recourſe to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chuſing what ſervants he will.

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There are two points which I believe myſelf able to make out. Firſt, That neither the late Queen, nor her miniſters, did ever entertain a deſign of bringing in the Pretender during her Majeſty's life, or that he ſhould ſucceed after her deceaſe.

Secondly, That if they conceived ſuch a deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute it from the firſt year of their miniſtry; becauſe, for at leaſt a year before the Queen's death, it was impoſſible to have put ſuch a deſign in execution.

I muſt premiſe with three circumſtances, which have a great effect on me, and muſt have the like upon thoſe among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to thoſe that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, diſcourſing at ſeveral times with ſome very eminent perſons of the oppoſite ſide, with whom I had long acquaintance, I aſked them ſeriouſly, whether they, or any of their friends, did in earneſt believe, or ſuſpect, the Queen, or the miniſtry, to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confeſſed for themſelves, that they believed nothing of the matter: And particularly, a perſon, at preſent in great employment, ſaid to me with much frankneſs, "You ſet up the Church and Sacheverel againſt us, and we ſet up Trade and the Pretender againſt you."

The ſecond point I would obſerve is this, That during the courſe of the late miniſtry, upon occaſion

caſion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curioſity to aſk almoſt every perſon in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except thoſe who profeſſed to be Nonjurors) that diſcovered the leaſt inclination towards the Pretender; and the whole number they could muſter up did not amount to above five or ſix, among which one was a certain old Lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little conſequence, and of a broken fortune: Yet I do not believe myſelf to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of Buckingham, in whoſe company I never was above once or twice at moſt. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonſtration, that, upon the Queen's death, if we may except Papiſts and Nonjurors, there could not be five hundred perſons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender, and, among theſe, not ſix of any quality or conſequence: But how it hath come to paſs that ſeveral millions are ſaid to have ſince changed their ſentiments, it ſhall not be my part to enquire.

The laſt point is of the ſame ſtrain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only thoſe who are willing to believe me on my own word: That having been, for the ſpace of almoſt four years, very nearly and perpetually converſant with thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of

power,

power, and this in their times of leiſure as well as buſineſs, I could never hear one ſingle word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, altho' I was curious enough to obſerve, in a particular manner, what paſſed upon that ſubject. And I cannot but think, that if ſuch an affair had been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds at leaſt for ſuſpicion: Becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And, I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience that I hear this matter ſummarily determined by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a lybel or a coffee-houſe; or, at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point can have no influence further than my own perſonal credit reacheth, yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of

what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the Queen's miniſters never had it in their thoughts to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown.

For, firſt, when her Majeſty had determined to change her ſervants, it is very well known, that thoſe whom ſhe appointed to ſucceed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party; not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the reſt: Among which I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Newcaſtle, and Argyll; the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery; the Lords Manſel and Maſham, with ſeveral others whom I cannot at preſent recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Darmouth, were the only perſons introduced at firſt, and very few afterwards: Which, I ſuppoſe, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original ſcheme of ſuch miniſters, and that they were by no means proper inſtruments for ſuch a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's diſpoſition, muſt believe ſhe had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender. She was highly and publicly diſpleaſed with my Lord Boling-

broke, becauſe he was ſeen under the ſame roof with that perſon at an opera, when his Lordſhip was ſent to France upon ſome difficulties about the peace: Her Majeſty ſaid, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little miſtaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, ſhe would frequently let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, that made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid, that her Majeſty began thoſe changes at court, for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and, from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That when the former Chancellor, Preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever perſuaded to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of party; and that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs, upon my

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Lord Nottingham's vote againſt any peace without Spain; for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending Lords, although with the laſt danger of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of towards ſettling the repoſe of Europe. She had, beſides, upon the removal of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, choſen another great Lady * to ſucceed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her miniſters together: a lady openly profeſſing the utmoſt averſion from the perſons, the principles, and meaſures of thoſe who were then in power,—and excelling all, even of her own ſex, in every art of inſinuation: And this her Majeſty thought fit to do, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that could poſſibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would enſue. Her only objection againſt ſeveral clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a Lady in high favour with her, hath frequently aſſured me, that whenever ſhe moved the Queen to diſcard ſome perſons, who, upon all occaſions, with great virulence, oppoſed the court; her Majeſty would conſtantly refuſe, and, at the ſame time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beſide all this, there never was a more ſtale or antiquated cauſe than that of the Pretender, at the time when her Majeſty choſe her laſt miniſters, who were moſt of them children

* Ducheſs of Somerſet.

or youths, when King James II. abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themſelves with ſpeculations upon government; and, conſequently, could have no ſcruples of conſcience in ſubmitting to the preſent powers, ſince they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the caſe of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King James II. were all either dead or in exile, or ſunk in obſcurity, laden with years and want; ſo that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underſtood, that our anceſtors were only to anſwer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to profeſſed Nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thouſand, through England, who had other ſentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious diſaffection at preſent; becauſe the ſame thing hath happened before, from the ſame cauſes, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the ſame event.

But ſuch a diſaffection could hardly have been raiſed againſt an abſent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ſtrong argument for the good diſpoſition, both in the miniſtry and kingdom, towards the Houſe of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's adminiſtration, there was never thrown out the leaſt reflection againſt that illuſtrious Houſe, in any libel or pamphlet; which

which would hardly have happened, if the ſmall party-writers could have thought, that, by ſuch a performance, they would have made their court to thoſe in power; and which would certainly have been a very uſeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the ſucceſſion to the crown. But, however, to ſay the truth, invectives againſt the abſent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render perſons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath ſhewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than deſpiſed, yet that maxim is better calculated for an abſolute monarchy, than for the climate of England. But I am ſenſible this is a digreſſion; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her Majeſty with France and Spain, were calculated in ſeveral points directly againſt the Pretender, as he hath now found to his coſt, and as it is manifeſt to all the world: Neither could any thing be more ſuperficial, than the politics of thoſe who could be brought to think, that the Regent of France would ever engage in meaſures againſt the preſent King of England; and how the grimace of an ambaſſador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the caſe of the Earl of Stair, ſhould ſerve ſo long for an amuſement, cannot ſufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer, than that

the chief intereſt of the Duke of Orleans, is woven and twiſted with that of King George? and this, Whether it ſhall be thought convenient to ſuffer the young King of France to live longer, or not? For, in the ſecond caſe, the Regent perfectly agrees with our preſent King, in this particular circumſtance, that the whole order of ſucceſſion hath been broken for his ſake; by which means he likewiſe will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And, even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that Prince, as long his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's miniſters, in their treaties with France and Spain, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent King ſucceeded to theſe crowns with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a princeſs as her late Majeſty. The parliament was moſt unanimous, in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diverſion by

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an invaſion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in caſe her Majeſty had happened to die during the courſe of the war: And, upon the death of the late French King, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with England; as the Queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the Queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumſtance to a ſucceſſor and a ſtranger, yet the univerſal inclinations at that time in England, towards the Houſe of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize. But, on the other ſide, if the war had continued a year longer than her Majeſty's life, and the ſame cauſes had been applied to produce the ſame effects upon the affections of the people, the iſſue muſt inevitably have been, either a long and bloody civil war, or a ſudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the preſent King's title, and ſecure his poſſeſſion, than that very peace ſo much exploded by one party, and ſo juſtly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the preſent ſituation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jeſt.

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But if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, how could it come to paſs, that the Dutch, who were guarantees of *that* ſucceſſion, and valued for zealous defenders of it, ſhould be ſo ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a ſhare in the the Aſſiento trade, which the oppoſers of peace repreſented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to Monſieur de Buys, who, upon ſome difficulties the miniſtry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote againſt any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter eaſy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his maſters, of all her Majeſty's proceedings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this further, that ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amidſt all the appearing diſcontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long reſided in Holland, and was occaſionally employed by the miniſters here, aſſured me, that he had power from the Penſioner to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about ſending hither an extraordinary embaſſy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully ſatisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any diſcourſe about it with thoſe in power. For

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then the affairs were growing deſperate, by their quarrels among themſelves, and by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the Queen's favour; both which became ſo public, as well as her Majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that, I ſuppoſe, thoſe circumſtances might eaſily cool the Dutch politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careleſs in cultivating a good correſpondence with the Houſe of Hanover: And, on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed to ſatisfy and inform the Elector, and his miniſters, in every ſtep taken by her Majeſty; and what offers were made to his Highneſs, for any further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the Queen. To this purpoſe were all the inſtructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and ſome others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a fooliſh circumſtance, which hath often made me remember the common obſervation, of the greateſt events depending frequently upon the loweſt, vileſt, and obſcureſt cauſes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the iſſues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and obſervation, three or four very ſurpriſing inſtances. I have ſeen an old * bed-

* Mrs Foiſſon, neceſſary-woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady Maſham.

bed-maker, by officiouſly going to one door, when gratitude as well as common ſenſe ſhould have ſent her to another, become the inſtrument of putting the nation to the expence of ſome thouſand lives, and ſeveral millions of money. I have known as great an event from the ſtupidity or wilfulneſs of a beggarly Dutchman *, who lingered on purpoſe half an hour at a viſit, when he had promiſed to be ſomewhere elſe. Of no greater dignity was that circumſtance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late miniſtry, to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum, to a very inconſiderable French vagrant †, gave the opportunity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel, thro' which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the Queen, the miniſters, and the whole Britiſh nation, were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: That if the Queen's miniſters had, with or without the knowledge of their Miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the Pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to have begun, and

* Carew Lord Hunſden, born and bred in Holland.

† Robithan, then at Hanover, but in the ſervice of ſome other German Prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the Elector.

and profecuted that deſign, as ſoon as they came into her Majeſty's ſervice.

There were two circumſtances which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden: For the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abhorence of a Popiſh ſucceſſor; and, as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity. So that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious, and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the caſe.

The other circumſtance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; her Majeſty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other diſorders, increaſing on her; ſo that whoever was near the court, for about the two laſt years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to propheſy. And how little a time the miniſters had for ſo great a work, as that of changing the ſucceſſion of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been,

been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by ſeveral Lords of the church-party, the laſt year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehenſion, that the very quarrels among the miniſters might poſſibly be of ſome diſadvantage to the Houſe of Hanover. And the univerſal declaration, both among Lords and Commons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as againſt the Pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction, that ſome years muſt have been ſpent in altering the diſpoſitions of the people. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall not ſoon forget what a great miniſter then ſaid to me, and which I have been ſince aſſured was likewiſe the Duke of Shrewſbury's opinion, That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undiſturbed ſucceſſion; but the chief difficulty lay in the future diſaffection of the church and people, and landed intereſt, from that univerſal change of men and meaſures, which he foreſaw would arrive. And it muſt be, to all impartial men, above a thouſand witneſſes, how innocent her Majeſty's ſervants were upon this article; that, knowing ſo well through what channels all favour was to paſs upon the Queen's demiſe, that, by their coming into power, they had utterly, and for ever, broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their

actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil, was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a Prince, by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide, that he be not outbid by another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth Greece and Rome, as well as many other ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe, further than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I muſt here take notice of an accuſation charged upon the late miniſtry, by the Houſe of

Commons, that they put a lie or falſehood into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her Parliament. Mr Thomas Harley was ſent to the Elector of Hanover, with inſtructions, to offer his Highneſs any further ſecurities, for ſettling the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with her Majeſty's honour and ſafety. This gentleman writ a letter to the Secretary of State, a little before his return from Hanover, ſignifying, in direct terms, that the Elector expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and deſired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to one of the under-ſecretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleaſed him, and what he deſired might be as public as poſſible. Both theſe letters I have read; and the Queen, as ſhe had reaſon to ſuppoſe, being ſufficiently authorized by this notice from her miniſter, made mention of that information in a ſpeech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr Harley to have been charged with. From what hath ſince paſſed in the world, I ſhould indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his Highneſs, and perhaps underſtood to be ſo by the Queen: But, without queſtion, her Majeſty had a fair excuſe, to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words; and if this be ſo, the imputation of falſehood muſt remain where theſe accuſers of that excellent Princeſs's veracity will, I ſuppoſe, not profeſs (at leaſt) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I ſaid, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the miniſters were of the ſame opinion, and would have put it in practice, if it had pleaſed God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already obſerved, how well it was known at court, what meaſures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his ſucceſſion ſhould take place; and what hands he would employ in the adminiſtration of his affairs. I have likewiſe mentioned ſome facts and reaſons, which influenced and fixed his Highneſs in that determination, notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we conſider the diſpoſitions of England at that time, when almoſt the whole body of the clergy, a vaſt majority of the landed intereſt, and of the people in general, were of the church-party; it muſt be granted that one or two acts, which might have paſſed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the ſucceſſor to have procured a Houſe of Commons of a different ſtamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the uſual arts to gain parliaments, can hardly be applied with ſucceſs, after the election, againſt a majority at leaſt of three in four; becauſe the trouble and expence would be too great, beſide the loſs of reputation. For, neither could ſuch a number of members find their account in point

of profit, nor would the Crown be at ſo much charge and hazard, merely for the ſake of governing by a ſmall party, againſt the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been ſufficiently provided for by the ſcheme intended. I ſuppoſe it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a ſtep, while the Houſe of Commons continues to diſlike proceedings, or perſons employed, at leaſt in an age where parliaments are grown ſo frequent, and are made ſo neceſſary: Whereas, a miniſter is but the creature of a day; and a Houſe of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will ſoon comprehend how eaſily the legiſlature, at that time, could have provided againſt the power and influence of a court, or miniſtry, in future elections, without the leaſt injury to the ſucceſſion, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themſelves; which, however, I muſt needs grant to be one of the moſt effectual, vigorous, and reſolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long Parliament under King Charles I. although it ſhould be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I muſt again urge and repeat, that thoſe who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the reſt of that miniſtry,

miniſtry, with a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at ſome difficulty to fix the time when that deſign was in agitation: For, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods when her Majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the Houſe of Hanover not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: All which, however, had no other conſequence, than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs and aſſurance to the Elector. During the laſt two years of the Queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was wondered how ſhe could hold out ſo long: And then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time; and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable, by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſentions which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree, that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion, could not be owing to any principle of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples have given but ſmall diſ-

turbance of late years in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore the only teſt by which we are to judge the intentions of thoſe who manage public affairs, it would have been but reaſonable, to have ſhewn how the intereſt of the Queen's miniſters could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with ſuch an intention. Her Majeſty was ſeveral years younger than her intended ſucceſſor, and, at the beginning of that miniſtry, had no diſorders, except the gout, which is not uſually reckoned a ſhortener of life; and thoſe in chief truſt were, generally ſpeaking, older than their Miſtreſs: So that no perſons had ever a fairer proſpect of running on the natural life of an Engliſh miniſtry; conſidering, likewiſe, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an inſtance in hiſtory, of a ſet of men, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo ſanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the viſible proſpect of a general defection, which (then at leaſt) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a miniſtry in ſuch circumſtances, durſt engage in ſo dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their Sovereign. And as to the perſons then in ſervice, if they may be allowed to have common ſenſe, they would much ſooner have ſurrendered their employments, than hazard the loſs of their heads at ſo great odds, before they had tried or changed

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the diſpoſition of the parliament; which is an *accuſation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them; at leaſt till towards the end of their miniſtry, and then very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time, and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work impoſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late Queen, ſo little enterprizing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions, (as *reſtiveneſs* is commonly attended with ſlowneſs), ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It hath been objected againſt the late Queen, and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition towards the Houſe of Hanover, that the Electoral Prince was not invited to reſide in England: And, at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved, that this objection was raiſed and ſpread by the leaders of that party, who firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him; offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe *would* not live with her grave-ſtone always in her

her ſight; although the caſe be by no means parallel between the two Queens. For in her late Majeſty's reign, the crown was as firmly ſettled on the Hanover family, as the legiſlature could do it: And the queſtion was only, Whether the preſumptive heir, of diſtant kindred, ſhould keep his court in the ſame kingdom and metropolis with the Sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her Majeſty, and the body of her people, utterly diſapproved? And, therefore, the leaders on both ſides, when they were in power, did poſitively determine this queſtion in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reaſons were cogent enough, ſince differences may happen to ariſe between two princes the moſt nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a ſubject, the conſequence of family-diſſentions may not always be conſiderable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the miniſters; and did afterwards offer many reaſons for it, in a diſcourſe intended for the public, (but ſtopped by the Queen's death), that the young grandſon (whoſe name I cannot remember) ſhould be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be ſecure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zelots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain;

complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of Engliſh manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true conſtitution of church and ſtate. And this was the judgment of thoſe at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their Miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued. Perhaps, from what hath ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on; wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and, I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: For I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it ſo falls out, that, among contending parties in England, the general intereſt of church and ſtate is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that whoever profeſſeth to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution

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ſhould be preſerved intire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as our's; and one ſide will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations of thoſe who diſlike the preſent eſtabliſhment, in order to make themſelves a balance againſt the other; and ſuch a party, compoſed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the ſeveral fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public intereſt; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-deſigning prince, will probably, by the aſſiſtance of time or force, become the majority, unleſs they be prevented by a ſteadineſs, which there is little reaſon to hope,—or by ſome revolution, which there is much more reaſon to fear. For abuſes in adminiſtration may laſt much longer than politicians ſeem to be aware of; eſpecially where ſome bold ſteps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legiſlature: In which caſe, as it may happen in ſome ſtates, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own ſuppoſed conſent, to be their own enſlavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themſelves out of this labyrinth? Or, will they not rather wiſh to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever conſiders the courſe of the Roman Empire after Cæſar's uſurpation, the long continuance of the Turkiſh government,

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or the deſtruction of the Gothic balance in moſt kingdoms of Europe, will eaſily ſee how controlable that maxim is, That *res nolunt diu male adminiſtrari:* Becauſe, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, ſo they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, conſidered as individuals, are exactly the ſame when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwiſe to be with-held in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which when any great breaches are made, the conſequence will be the ſame as in the life of a particular man, whoſe vices are ſeldom known to end, but with himſelf.

THE

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr SWIFT, at the command of the LORD TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE of GRAFTON.]

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majeſty, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for communicating to this Houſe, that peace is agreed on, ſo honourable to your Majeſty, and ſafe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the bleſſing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themſelves, after ſo long and expenſive a war. We likewiſe beg leave to congratulate with your Majeſty, upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby

the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your Majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs. We never had the leaſt doubt, but that your Majeſty, who is the greateſt ornament and protector of the Proteſtant Religion, would do every thing for ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; towards which nothing can be more neceſſary, than the perfect harmony there is between your Majeſty and the Houſe of Hanover. And we do humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that, as you are pleaſed to expreſs your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourſelves bound, by the greateſt ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the moſt obedient ſubjects, to the moſt indulgent Sovereign.

AN ANECDOTE

RELATIVE TO THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr Helvetius was ſent from Paris, by Torcy, to Devenwordt at the Hague, with the firſt propoſals for a peace ſeparate with Holland; a year after which, the preliminaries, at Gertrudenberg, were tranſacted by the Mar. D'Uxelles and Polignac, and afterwards Menager was privately diſpatched to the ſame effect.

My Lord Strafford had the firſt intimation of theſe ſeparate tranſactions of France and Holland, from the Duke of Marlborough, as a thing a good while before in agitation; and afterwards from Devenwordt himſelf, who told him that he ſent to Paris for Dr Helvetius to cure him of a rheumatiſm, which opportunity Torcy took to negociate by him.

Helvetius ſince confirmed the ſame ſtory to my Lord Strafford, in the year 1720.

A COPY OF

DR SWIFT's MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15. 1714.

THE change of miniſtry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings ſince, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciouſly repreſented to poſterity, if they ſhould fall under the pen of ſome writer of the oppoſite party, as they probably may.

Upon theſe reaſons, it is neceſſary, for the honour of the Queen, and in juſtice to her ſervants, that ſome able hand ſhould be immediately employed to write the hiſtory of her Majeſty's reign; that the truth of things may be tranſmitted to future ages, and bear down the falſehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of St Patrick's is ready to undertake this work, humbly deſiring her Majeſty will pleaſe to appoint him her hiſtoriographer; not from any view of the profit, (which is ſo inconſiderable that it will hardly ſerve to pay the expence of ſearching offices) but from an earneſt deſire to ſerve his Queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of acceſs to thoſe places where papers and records are kept, which will be neceſſary to any who undertake ſuch an hiſtory.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED FROM THE DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9. 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation with reference to the two contending parties. This cannot well be done, without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late Majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the Ducheſs of Marlborough's favour began to decline very ſoon after the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the Earl of Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her Majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The

The Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons not ſeaſonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deſerve a place in the hiſtory of that reign), they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking in ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr Harley, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation; and about the ſame time, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr St John, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the Queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr Harley, (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret; and upon that, and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed; and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her Majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints; ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into Parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental-teſt, from the avowed principles and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to

repeat, that ill deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed.

Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of Dr Sacheverel, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The miniſtry were very ſuſpicious, that the Queen had ſtill a reſerve of favour for Mr Harley, which appeared by a paſſage that happened ſome days after his removal: For, the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kenſington, the Earl a few hours after reproached the Queen, that ſhe privately admitted Mr Harley, and was not without ſome difficulty undeceived by her Majeſty's aſſeverations to the contrary.

Soon after the Doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the Queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs Maſham, was brought up the backſtairs; and that Princeſs, ſpirited by the addreſſes from all parts, which ſhewed the inclinations of her ſubjects to be very averſe from the proceedings in court and parliament, was reſolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work, by taking the diſpoſal of employments into her own hands: For which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of Eſſex, lieutenant of the Tower, whoſe employment was given to the Earl Rivers, to the great diſcontent of the Duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of North-

Northumberland, then Colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the Earl of Hartford was to ſucceed. Some time after, the Chamberlain's ſtaff was diſpoſed of to the Duke of Shrewſbury, in the abſence, and without the privity of the Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's removal followed, and laſtly that of the High Treaſurer himſelf, whoſe office was put into commiſſion, whereof Mr Harley (made at the ſame time Chancellor of the Exchequer) was one. I need ſay nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: Let it ſuffice, that in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that when the Queen began this change, ſhe had no intentions to carry it ſo far as the church-party expected, and have ſince been ſo impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe were a true profeſſor of the religion eſtabliſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alteration did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe apprehended to that or the government; but from a deſire to get out of the dominion of ſome, who ſhe thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon ſome occaſions, poſitive to a great degree. And when ſhe had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe thought, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe was inclined

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to ſtop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating ſcheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the ſame time I muſt confeſs my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made uſe of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her adviſers might think it eaſier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That theſe were her Majeſty's diſpoſitions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many inſtances. In the very height of the change, ſhe appeared very loth to part with two great officers of ſtate of the other party; and ſome, whoſe abſence the new miniſters moſt earneſtly wiſhed, held in for above two years after.

Mr Harley, who acted as firſt miniſter before he had the ſtaff, as he was a lover of gentle meaſures, and inclined to procraſtination, ſo he could not, with any decency, preſs the Queen too much againſt her nature; becauſe it would be like running upon the rock where his predeceſſors had ſplit. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, againſt the principles and perſons of the Low-church party, gave this miniſter a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both Houſes, eſpecially among the Commons, preſſed for a thorough change; and ſo did almoſt all the Queen's new ſervants, eſpecially after Mr Harley was made an Earl and High Treaſurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power,

nor

nor fling the blame upon his Miſtreſs. And, as too much ſecreſy was one of his faults, he would often, upon theſe occaſions, keep his neareſt friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewiſe other views, which were better ſuited to the maxims of State in general, than to that ſituation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the diſcontented party, he fell in with the Queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undiſpoſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other miniſters have done, that ſince factions are neceſſary in ſuch a government as our's, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the preſent one proſtrate, leſt another more plauſible, and therefore not ſo eaſy to grapple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjuſtly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig-party, whom he kept in upon the ſcore of old friendſhip or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred, than all the miniſtry together.

A SERMON UPON THE MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30. 1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul! come not thou into their ſecret; unto their aſſembly, mine honour, be not thou united: For in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I Know very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and bleſſed Martyr *Charles* I. who rather choſe

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to die on a ſcaffold, than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt, that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures, are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of thoſe who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet ſhewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged, that the obſervation of this day hath ſerved to continue and encreaſe the animoſity and enmity among our countrymen, and to diſunite Proteſtants; that a law was made, upon the reſtoration of the Martyr's ſon, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occaſion; and, ſince none are now alive who were actors or inſtruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations. Now, becauſe I conceive moſt of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

Firſt, relate to you ſo much of the ſtory as may be ſufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the conſequences which this bloody deed had upon theſe kingdoms:

And, laſtly, I will ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the firſt, In the reign of this prince, Charles the Martyr, the power and prerogative

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of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and ſo had been for at leaſt 700 years before: And the beſt princes we ever had, carried their power much farther, than the bleſſed Martyr offered to do, in the moſt blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally beſtowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the ſucceeding kings could not ſupport themſelves without taxes raiſed by parliament; which put them under a neceſſity of frequently calling thoſe aſſemblies: And, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beſide the poſſeſſions of which the church had been robbed by Henry VIII.; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the ſide of the people, by whom even the juſt rights of the crown were often diſputed.

But further: Upon the cruel perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to ſeek for ſhelter, ſeveral went and reſided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of biſhops. When the Proteſtant faith was reſtored by Queen Elizabeth, thoſe who fled to Geneva returned among the reſt home to England,—and were grown ſo fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country;

at the ſame time continually preaching and rail-ing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they diſliked as a rem-nant of Popery, and continued extremely trou-bleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great Queen, as well as her ſucceſſor K. James I. Theſe people called themſelves PURITANS, as pretending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church eſtabliſhed. And theſe were the foun-ders of our diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying inſtitutions of the Primitive Church, and, at laſt, even the government of biſhops; which, having been ordained by the Apoſtles themſelves, had con-tinued without interruption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above 1500 years; and all this they did, not becauſe thoſe things were evil, but becauſe they were kept by the Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a common-wealth, or government of the people.

Theſe Puritans, about the middle of the Mar-tyr's reign, were grown to be a conſiderable fac-tion in the kingdom, and in the Lower Houſe of parliament. They filled the public with the moſt falſe and bitter libels againſt the biſhops and cler-gy, accuſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Popery; and, at the ſame time, the Houſe of

Commons grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the King, that they refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch conditions as he could not ſubmit to, without forfeiting his conſcience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in ſuch an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of raiſing money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his ſide: For, wicked judges there were in thoſe times, as well as in our's. There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſometimes juſtly, made againſt the proceedings of a certain court called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity, but had ſuffered ſome corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubjects of complaint, with the leaſt ground of reaſon; nor is it needful to recollect them; becauſe this gracious King did, upon the firſt application, redreſs all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardſhips for the future. But that wicked faction in the Houſe of Commons, not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice and condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an act for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief miniſter; and at the ſame time, compelled him, by tumults and theatenings of a pact rabble, poiſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another

another law, by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſolve that parliament without their own conſent. Thus, by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that ever poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this Prince did in effect ſign his own deſtruction. For the Houſe of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unreaſonable demand, and when he refuſed to grant it, made uſe of their own power; and declared, that an ordinance of both Houſes, without the King's conſent, ſhould be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reaſon and equity, as well as to the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refuſed to aſſiſt him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in perſon, to ſubdue thoſe rebels. Theſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, forced the King to ſummon his loyal ſubjects to his ſtandard in his own defence. Mean-while the Engliſh parliament, inſtead of helping the poor Proteſtants here, ſeized on the very army that his Majeſty was ſending over for our relief, and turned them againſt their own Sovereign. The rebellion in England continued four or five years: At laſt the King was forced to fly in diſguiſe to the Scots, who ſold him to the rebels. And theſe Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his ſacred perſon in a mock court of juſtice, and to cut off his head; which he might have ſaved, if he would have

yielded to betray the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

In this whole proceeding Simeon and Levi were brethren, the wicked inſinuations of thoſe fanatical preachers ſtirring up the cruelty of the ſoldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the Houſe every member of parliament whom they apprehended to bear the leaſt inclination towards an agreement with the King, ſuffering only thoſe to enter who thirſted chiefly for his blood; and this the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear, that this Prince was, in all reſpects, a real martyr for the true religion, and the liberty of his people. That odious parliament had firſt turned the biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords; in a few years after, they murdered their King; then immediately aboliſhed the whole Houſe of Lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a King, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called the kingdom of Chriſt and his ſaints.

This is enough for your information on the firſt head: I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, The Iriſh rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked Engliſh parliament. For the leaders

leaders in the Iriſh Popiſh maſſacre would never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the King from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and, therefore, we may truly ſay, that the Engliſh parliament held the King's hands, while the Iriſh Papiſts were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form, either of religion, or civil government, but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and from one faction to another. From whence aroſe that wild confuſion ſtill continuing in our ſeveral ways of ſerving God,—and thoſe abſurd notions of civil power, which have ſo often torn us with factions, more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the riſe and progreſs of Atheiſm among us. For men obſerving what numberleſs villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were eaſily tempted to doubt, that all religion was a mere impoſture: And the ſame ſpirit of infidelity, ſo far ſpread among us at this preſent, is nothing but the fruit of the ſeeds ſown by thoſe rebellious hypocritical ſaints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous ſpirit of the Engliſh nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of thoſe wicked people. Many of the ancient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the mercileſs courts of juſtice. Some of the worſt among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities; and not a few of the new created, when the Martyr's ſon was reſtored, were ſuch who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the ſafety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them at leaſt, I mean King James II. was ſeduced to Popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdom, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his intereſts and our's were the ſame: And God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm, is ſeldom rebuilt, without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that, ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government,—and factions have been more violent, treacherous,

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and malicious than ever,—men running naturally from one extreme into another, and, for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed Martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this horrid rebellion and murder, was the deſtroying or defacing ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes; *In their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.* If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in England, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of Turks or Heathens had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeized the veſſels of ſilver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of prayer dens of thieves, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe were the mildeſt effects of Puritan-zeal, and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people, without permitting

ting this rebellion and murder, yet as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes, of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, adviſed the King, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects for building of ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifice a faithful ſervant to the rage of a faction, nor to truſt any body of men with a greater ſhare of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much leſs to depoſit it in their hands until they ſhall pleaſe to reſtore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the conſequences that have ariſen from it, we ſhall be convinced how neceſſary it is for thoſe in power, to curb, in ſeaſon, all ſuch unruly ſpirits as deſire to introduce new doctrines and diſcipline in the church, or new forms of government in the ſtate. Thoſe wicked Puritans

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began in Queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with ſurplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the croſs in baptiſm, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at laſt, they muſt needs have the whole government of the church diſſolved. This great work they compaſſed firſt, by depriving the biſhops of their ſeats in parliament; then they aboliſhed the whole order; and, at laſt, which was their original deſign, they ſeized on all the church-lands, and divided the ſpoil among themſelves; and, like Jeroboam, made prieſts of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and diſcarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to ſhew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial, and twenty ſeveral ſorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the ſon of him whom thoſe reformers had ſacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob, and ſcattered in Iſrael.

Thirdly, Although the ſucceſſors of thoſe Puritans, I mean our preſent diſſenters, do not think fit to obſerve this day of humiliation; yet, ſince it would be very proper in them, upon ſome occaſions, to renounce in a public manner thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do ſo, becauſe thoſe very Puritans, of whom

our's

our's are followers, found by experience, that after they had overturned the church and ſtate, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the ſaints, they were cheated of the power and poſſeſſions they only panted after, by an upſtart ſect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who ſubjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to ſet up a thouſand.

Fourthly, Thoſe who profeſs to be followers of our church eſtabliſhed, and yet preſume in diſcourſe to juſtify or excuſe that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to conſider, how utterly contrary all ſuch opinions are to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true profeſſors, for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I ſpeak it with grief of heart, we have heard even ſermons of a ſtrange nature; although reaſon would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and leſſening the guilt of thoſe who murdered the beſt of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, deſtroyed the very monarchy itſelf. Pray God we may never more hear ſuch doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it ſcattered about in print, to poiſon the people!

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the conſequences they had upon theſe nations, may be a warning

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to our people not to believe a lie, and to miſtruſt thoſe deluding ſpirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may ſay what they pleaſe; but it is no hard thing at all for the meaneſt perſon, who hath common underſtanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be ſecure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himſelf againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very ſecure of, let it be what it will); he ought to be fully ſatisfied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe antient Puritan fanatics: They muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head: In anſwer to that objection of keeping up animoſity and hatred between

tween Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebels put in practice; I think it is the intereſt of all thoſe who love the church and king, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity, and the perpetual infamy of the Engliſh nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Hereticks, they deny it to a man; and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion: But the followers of thoſe who beheaded the Martyr, have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: Neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right. For, ſurely, Chriſt requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheiſt may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thankſgiving? And doth not the deſtruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocriſy, and cruelty of a wicked race of ſoldiers and

preachers, and other ſons of Belial, equally require a ſolemn time of humiliation? eſpecially ſince the conſequences of that bloody ſcene ſtill continue, as I have already ſhewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I propoſed to diſcourſe on. But, before I conclude, I muſt give a caution to thoſe who hear me, that they may not think that I am pleading for abſolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the Apoſtle ſays, *The powers that be, are ordained of God.* But this is in the ſame ſenſe, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever poſſeſſion we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in thoſe, or any other words of Scripture, to juſtify tyrannical power, or the ſavage cruelties of thoſe Heathen emperors, who lived in the time of the Apoſtles: And ſo St Paul concludes, *The powers that be, are ordained of God;* For what? Why, *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe, the reward of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greateſt Emperor, than in the meaneſt of his ſubjects: His body is compoſed of the ſame ſubſtance, the ſame parts, and with the ſame or greater infirmities: His education is generally worſe, by flattery, and idleneſs, and luxury, and thoſe evil diſpoſitions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore againſt common ſenſe, that his private perſonal intereſt, or pleaſure, ſhould be put in the balance

with the ſafety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the ſight of God, equally capable of ſalvation; and it is for their ſakes, not his own, that he is entruſted with the government over them. He hath as high truſt as can ſafely be repoſed in one man; and if he diſcharge it as he ought, he deſerves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His perſonal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his miniſters in the ſtate. To what height thoſe errors may be ſuffered to proceed, is not the buſineſs of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppreſſions grow too great and univerſal to be borne, nature or neceſſity may find a remedy: But if a private perſon reaſonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be a hard condition indeed, not to give the ſame allowance to a Prince; who muſt ſee with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is ſo, in ſome degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may juſtly ſay in the defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it muſt be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the ſubjects will not rather chooſe to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the adminiſtration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preach-

ers,

ers, to grow fond of new viſions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I. But the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange, was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy prince, King James II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected, ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow-ſubjects, but even upon their Sovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable upon the preſent powers, by ſuppoſing any relation, or reſemblance, between that Rebellion and the late Revolution;

and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended by the ſame arguments which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe, was to give you warning againſt running into either extreme, of two bad opinions with relation to obedience. As Kings are called Gods upon earth, ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty and property, and life and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the Prince; which, however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it, but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon Kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed Martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chooſe a middle; to be

good

good and loyal ſubjects; yet, according to your power, faithful aſſertors of your religion and liberties: To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be ſtrict obſervers of the laws, which cannot juſtly be taken from you without your own conſent: In ſhort, *to obey God and the King, and meddle not with thoſe who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, *&c.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COURT and EMPIRE of JAPAN.

Written in 1728.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of Japan, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeding to Nena, a princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and Regoge, ſucceſſor to Nena, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above mentioned; and, at the death of the Empreſs Nena, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were Huſiges

Huſiges and Yortes. The latter were thoſe whom Nena, the late Empreſs, moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

The Huſige faction, enraged at their loſs of power, made private applications to Regoge during the life of the Empreſs; which prevailed ſo far, that, upon her death, the new Emperor wholly diſgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Huſiges in all his affairs. The Japaneſe author highly blames his Imperial Majeſty's proceeding in this affair; becauſe it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating ſcheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign, by openly diſgracing the principal and moſt popular Yortes, ſome of which had been chiefly inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne. By this miſtaken ſtep he occaſioned a rebellion; which, although it were ſoon quelled by ſome very ſurprizing turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in ſuch immenſe charges, that, inſtead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the moſt profound peace, he left his empire loaden with a vaſt addition to the old incumbrance.

This Prince, before he ſucceeded to the empire of Japan, was King of Tedſu, a dominion ſeated

ed on the continent to the weſt ſide of Japan. Tedſu was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he ſpent ſome months almoſt every year, and thither was ſuppoſed to have conveyed great ſums of money ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon Tedſu: Of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and, to ſupport it, was forced not only to retrench deeply on his Japaneſe revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the Japaneſe empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which, ſome authors are of opinion, was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of Brennus, who ravaged a great part of Aſia; and thoſe of them who fixed in Japan, left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the northern people, in enſuing ages, carried through moſt parts of Europe; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every century of private ſoldiers; and, in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The Huſige faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the Yortes, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of Regoge before he came to the empire, that this

Prince

Prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The Emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to Tedſu; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This Prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of Japan; and, paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy in his perſonal revenues, and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt miniſter, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in Japan, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the Prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the Hiſtorian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

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The miniſter above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly diſgraced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He was perfectly ſkilled, by long practices, in the ſenatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchaſing of votes, from thoſe who could find their accounts better in complying with his meaſures, than they could probably loſe by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He ſeemed to fail in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never ſcrupling openly to lay out vaſt ſums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchaſing eſtates; when it was known, that, upon his firſt coming into buſineſs, upon the death of the Empreſs Nena, his fortune was but inconſiderable. He had the moſt boldneſs, and the leaſt magnanimity, that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends and dependents, in a moſt exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a ſupport againſt an evil day. He had the beſt among all falſe appearances of courage, which was a moſt unlimited aſſurance, whereby he would ſwagger the boldeſt men into a dread of his power; but had not the ſmalleſt portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and diſgracing every man who was known to bear the leaſt civility to thoſe he diſliked. He had ſome ſmall ſmattering in books, but no manner of politeneſs;

politeneſs; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one perſon, upon the ſcore of wit, learning, or abilities for buſineſs. The whole ſyſtem of his miniſtry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or penſion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them,—and threatening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the Emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at in chuſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the encreaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the Emperor; would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures, that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the Emperor's death; and the Prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, mounted the throne of Japan.

The new Emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who in his annual

annual abſence, never truſted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held ſo evenly, that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at leaſt not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father proceeded againſt them; and therefore, immediately upon his ſucceſſion, the principal perſons of that denomination came, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courteſy, and ſome of them with particular marks of diſtinction.

The Prince, during the reign of his father, having not been truſted with any public charge, employed his leiſure in learning the language, the religion, the cuſtoms, and the diſpoſition of the Japaneſe; wherein he received great information, among others, from Nomptoc, maſter of of his finances, and preſident of the ſenate, who ſecretly hated Lelop-Aw the miniſter; and likewiſe from Ramneh, a moſt eminent ſenator; who, deſpairing to do any good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavour to inſtill good principles into the young Prince.

Upon the news of the former Emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the ſucceſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new Emperor having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide,

and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed Lelop-Aw to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the ſenate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that miniſter having delivered, according to his uſual manner, with much aſſurance and little ſatisfaction, the Emperor deſired to be fully ſatisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vaſt expence of chuſing ſuch members into the ſenate, as would be content to do the public buſineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary?

Whether thoſe members thus choſen in, would croſs and impede the neceſſary courſe of affairs, unleſs they were ſupplied with great ſums of money, and continued penſions?

Whether the ſame corruption and perverſeneſs were to be expected from the Nobles?

Whether the empire of Japan were in ſo low a condition, that the Imperial Envoys, at foreign courts, muſt be forced to purchaſe alliances; or prevent a war, by immenſe bribes, given to the miniſters of all the neighbouring Princes?

Why the debts of the empire were ſo prodigiouſly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were univerſally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire, and to the Imperial Family now reigning?

Whether thoſe perſons, whoſe revenues conſiſt in lands, do not give ſurer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more intereſted in the welfare of the empire, than others whoſe fortunes conſiſt only in money?

And becauſe Lelop-Aw, for ſeveral years paſt, had engroſſed the whole adminiſtration, the Emperor ſignified, that from him alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enough to cultivate an intereſt in the young Prince's family during the late Emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of their emiſſaries, of what was intended at the council,—and had ſufficient time to frame as plauſible an anſwer as his cauſe and conduct would allow. However, having deſired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner:

SIR,

UPON this ſhort unexpected warning, to anſwer your Imperial Majeſty's queries, I ſhould be wholly at a loſs, in your Majeſty's auguſt preſence, and that of this moſt noble aſſembly, if I were armed with a weaker defence than my own loyalty and integrity, and the proſperous ſucceſs of my endeavours.

It is well known, that the death of the Empreſs Nena happened in a moſt miraculous juncture; and

and that if ſhe had lived two months longer, your illuſtrious family would have been deprived of your right, and we ſhould have ſeen an uſurper upon your throne, who would have wholly changed the conſtitution of this empire, both civil and ſacred; and although that Empreſs died in a moſt opportune ſeaſon, yet the peaceable entrance of your Majeſty's father was effected by a continual ſeries of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the Yortes raiſed, without the leaſt provocation, in the firſt year of the late Emperor's reign; which may be ſufficient to convince your Majeſty, that every ſoul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favourer of the Pretender, a mortal enemy to your illuſtrious family, and an introducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and, ſince a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favour the Yortes' faction, who, in the regular courſe of elections, muſt certainly be choſen members of the ſenate then to be convoked; it was neceſſary, by the force of money, to influence elections in ſuch a manner, that your Majeſty's father might have a ſufficient number to weigh down the ſcale on his ſide, and thereby carry on thoſe meaſures which would only ſecure him and his family in the poſſeſſion of the empire. To ſupport this original plan, I came into the ſervice: But the members of the ſenate,

knowing themſelves every day more neceſſary, upon the chuſing of a new ſenate, I found the charges to increaſe; and that after they were choſen, they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their penſions; becauſe they well knew, that the work could not be carried on without them: And I was more general in my donatives, becauſe I thought it was more for the honour of the crown, that every vote ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and that when a debate was propoſed, it ſhould immediately be quaſhed, by putting the queſtion.

Sir, The date of the preſent ſenate is expired, and your Imperial Majeſty is now to convoke a new one; which, I confeſs, will be ſomewhat more expenſive than the laſt, becauſe the Yortes, from your favourable reception, have begun to re-aſſume a ſpirit whereof the country had ſome intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be ſtill in that fatal intereſt. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred thouſand ſprangs *, to return as great a majority of ſenators of the true ſtamp, as your Majeſty can deſire. As to the ſums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in ſome years, to eaſe the nation of them, when we and our neighbours come to a good underſtanding. However, I will be bold to ſay, they are cheaper than a war, where your Majeſty is to be a principal.

The

* About a million Sterling.

The penſions, indeed, to ſenators and other perſons, muſt needs increaſe, from the reſtiveneſs of ſome, and ſcrupulous nature of others; and the new members, who are unpractiſed, muſt have better encouragement. However, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thouſand ſprangs. But, to make this eaſy, there ſhould be new funds raiſed, of which I have ſeveral ſchemes ready, without taxing bread or fleſh, which ſhall be referred to more preſſing occaſions.

Your Majeſty knows it is the laudable cuſtom of all Eaſtern Princes, to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and military, to their Viſirs. The appointments for your family, and private purſe, ſhall exceed thoſe of your predeceſſors: You ſhall be at no trouble, further than to appear ſometimes in council, and leave the reſt to me: You ſhall hear no clamour or complaints: Your ſenate ſhall, upon occaſions, declare you the beſt of princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Aſia, the defender of the oppreſſed, and the delight of mankind.

Sir, Hear not thoſe who would moſt falſely, impiouſly, and maliciouſly inſinuate, that your government can be carried on without that wholeſome, neceſſary expedient, of ſharing the public revenue with your faithful deſerving ſenators. This, I know, my enemies are pleaſed to call bribery and corruption. Be it ſo: But I inſiſt, that, without this bribery and corruption, the

wheels of government will not turn, or at leaſt will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unleſs they be greaſed at proper times. If an angel from heaven ſhould deſcend, to govern this empire upon any other ſcheme than what our enemies call corruption, he muſt return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

SIR, It is well known we are a trading nation, and conſequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their ſhops or the plough, for the ſervice of their country; are they not to be conſidered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their perſons, the loſs of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the ſenate, in a country where they are ſtrangers, before the very lords of the ſoil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your Majeſty's ſervice, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the luſtre of their ſtations?

SIR, If I have given great numbers of the moſt profitable employments among my own relations, and neareſt allies, it was not out of any partiality, but becauſe I know them beſt, and can beſt depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntſman, who hath the abſolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than

than with a better pack, to whoſe manner and cry he is a ſtranger.

SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all thoſe who beſt knew your royal father, whether that bleſſed monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or diſappointment or uneaſineſs, or want of money for all his occaſions, during the time of my adminiſtration? And, how happy the people confeſſed themſelves to be under ſuch a king, I leave to their own numerous addreſſes; which all politicians will allow to be the moſt infallible proof, how any nation ſtands affected to their Sovereign.

Lelop-Aw having ended his ſpeech, and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in Japan, ſat down with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the Emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his Majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by Lelop-Aw.

A LETTER TO THE WRITER of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your Papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead ſeaſon of the year, into accounts of domeſtic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correſpondents, ſhould not underſtand your meaning ſo literally, as if you intended to reject inſerting any other paper, which might probably be uſeful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced, that this new courſe you reſolve to take, will render you more ſecure than your former laudable practice, of inſerting ſuch ſpeculations as were ſent you by ſeveral well-wiſhers to the good of the kingdom; however granting ſuch notices might be to ſome, who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them

them at your coſt. For, ſince there is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen, that the Dey of Algiers had got the toothach, or the King of Bantam had taken a purge, and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding pacquets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice, ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us will be more general, and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leiſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is, becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries, who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never

to be worn out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of ſcurrility, ſlander, and Billingſgate. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at), ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity; but I wiſh you would enquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide, are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary whoſe abilities they moſt have reaſon to apprehend, and to load himſelf, his family and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual converſation in Bridewell, Newgate, and the ſtews, could furniſh them; but, at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor, whoſe idea preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be

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the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of, to be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the Oſtend company to be demoliſhed; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon left entire in our poſſeſſion; the balance of Europe to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning, to be encouraged? I aſk whether any of theſe effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by thoſe into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſsly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter, to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged by the talents

talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that, among the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there hath not yet ariſen one whoſe labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaze, and ſour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the ſoul, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me, that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert, that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit, who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence: But the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius forſakes them,

when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good huſbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments of twenty and ſixty guineas at a time for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require, is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, hath kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle hath been recalled, of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought which did not ſquare to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk what ſatisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt courſe of un-

limited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon, to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleaſes, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes, (becauſe I always thought the lion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrels, at the expence of innocent men's reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? Here only, at the ſign of the Brazen Head, are to be ſold places and penſions: Beware of counterfeits, and take care of miſtaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fulneſs of his power, becauſe it is a thing that naturally

turally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qualities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: If it be rapacious, inſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the public with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful, you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to anſwer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their conſequences by the community: As the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: So, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the public is proportionably poor: As in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt, when his Lord is running out.

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OF PUBLIC ABSURDITIES IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of ſatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of miniſters of ſtate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obſcure fellows, over a bottle of wine, or a diſh of coffee, ſhall preſume to cenſure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form ſchemes of government, and new-model the common-wealth; and this uſually ridiculed as a pragmatical diſpoſition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poſſibly be true: And yet I am groſsly deceived if any ſober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuſtoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reaſon be tempted, according to the preſent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were ſanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miſtake of wiſe and good men, that they expect more reaſon

ſon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any ſort capable of. Whoever hath been preſent at councils or aſſemblies of any ſort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have obſerved ſuch reſults and opinions to have frequently paſſed a majority, as he would be aſhamed to advance in private converſation. I ſay nothing of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and the like, becauſe theſe are fairly to be accounted for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions and intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions, ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected.

And, as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt, which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate, than that of their government; the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, and Italians, having retained very little of the characters given them in ancient hiſtory.

By theſe and the like reflections, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country; moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniencies to

the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence.

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſeth a different form of worſhip from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members in the Houſe of Commons. Becauſe every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmoſt to bring in a repreſentative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity. For, it is no part of our buſineſs to be a warlike nation, otherwiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in England can be of no uſe, except to awe ſenates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but, that it ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknowledgment of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry

niſtry intended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted, (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince, or a tolerable miniſtry); they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to leave the people to their own free choice: The members would then conſiſt of perſons who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at leaſt never of ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlature, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons muſt be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of the wants and deſires of their ſeveral boroughs and counties. To chooſe a repreſentative for Berwick, whoſe eſtate is at the Land's-End, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſm; how much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for boroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a freehold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty ſhillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings in thoſe ages were equal to twenty pounds in our's; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum,

ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe: For any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many freeholders as his eſtate or ſettlement will allow, by making leaſes for life of land at a rack rent of forty ſhillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a-year, when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practiſed upon this occaſion.

It is likewiſe abſurd, that boroughs decayed are not abſolutely extinguiſhed, becauſe the returned members do in reality repreſent nobody at all; and that ſeveral large towns are not repreſented, though full of induſtrious townſmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of ſenators, to have themſelves and ſervants exempted from law-ſuits and arreſts, is manifeſtly abſurd. The proceedings at law are already ſo ſcandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing to pay his juſt debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the deciſion of the law, is ſurely but ill qualified to be a legiſlator. A criminal, with as good reaſon, might ſit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged.

hanged for their honeſty. By the annual ſitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and ſubſequent, a ſenator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common juſtice.

That the ſacred perſon of a ſenator's footman ſhould be free from arreſt, although he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on ſcore, is a circumſtance of equal wiſdom and juſtice, to avoid the great evil of his maſter's lady wanting her compliment of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

SHORT REMARKS ON BISHOP BURNET's HISTORY.

THIS author is in moſt particulars the worſt qualified for an hiſtorian, that ever I met with. His ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often Scotch, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people. He diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His obſervations are mean and trite, and very often falſe. His Secret Hiſtory is generally made up of coffee-houſe ſcandals, or at beſt from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of conſequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parſon of 40l. a-year. He

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was a gentleman born; and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch Earl to marry him. His characters are miſerably wrought, in many things miſtaken, and all of them detracting, except of thoſe who were friends to the Preſbyterians. That early love of liberty he boaſts of, is abſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he ever publiſhed, is an entire treatiſe in favour of paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his reflections on the clergy, for aſſerting, and then changing thoſe principles, come very improperly from him. He is the moſt partial of all writers that ever pretended ſo much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could poſſibly find in his heart; I am ſure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papiſt and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called, *A Hiſtory of Scotland during the author's time, with ſome digreſſions relating to England*, rather than deſerve the title he gives it. For I believe two-thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their inſignificant brangles and factions. What he ſucceeds beſt in is, in giving extracts of arguments, and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, moſt of them being ſtill in memory, eſpecially the ſtory of the Revolution; which, however, is not ſo well told as might be expected, from one who affects

affects to have had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it. After all, he was a man of generoſity and good nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten laſt years, was abſolute party-mad, and fancied he ſaw Popery under every buſh. He hath told me many paſſages not mentioned in his hiſtory, and many that are, but with ſeveral circumſtances, ſuppreſſed or altered. He never gives a good character without one eſſential point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and ſome other words and phraſes, he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet; Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

The Invaſion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE moſt antient account we have of Britain, is, that the iſland was full of inhabitants, divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, as moſt nations of the world appear to have been at firſt. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a ſky-coloured blue, either as an ornament, or elſe for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews. Britons. Heathens.

Druids. Their prieſts were called Druids: Theſe lived in hollow trees, and committed not their myſteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly loſt.

The Britons had wives in common, ſo many to a particular tribe or ſociety, and the children were in common to that ſociety.

About fifty years before Chriſt, Julius Cæſar, the firſt Roman Emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain, rather to increaſe his glory than conqueſts; for having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invaſion of Britain by the Romans (then maſters of moſt of the known world) was in the reign of the Claudius. Emperor Claudius; but it was not wholly ſubdued till that of Nero. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, ſent from Rome, as Ireland is now by deputies from England, and continued thus under the Romans for about years; till that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recal their own armies, but alſo to draw from hence the braveſt of the Britons, for their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe Barbarians.

Nero.

The

The Roman conqueſts in this iſland reached no further northward, than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glaſgow are ſeated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians and Picts;* who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infeſted the Britiſh borders. Therefore the Emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to Glaſgow, to prevent the invaſions of the Picts: It is commonly called *the Picts wall.*

Picts.

Picts wall.

Theſe Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infeſt and invade the Britons by ſea and land: The Britons chuſe Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons, (a fierce northern people) to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe Barbarians. The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in ſeveral battles; but, at laſt, pick quarrels with the Britons themſelves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven kingdoms in Britain, (by them now called England.) Theſe ſeven kingdoms are uſually ſtiled the Saxon Heptarchy.

A. D. 455.

Saxons.

A. D. 460. About this time lived King Arthur,
Arthur. (if the whole ſtory be not a fable) who was ſo famous for beating the Saxons in ſeveral battles.

The Britons received Chriſtianity very early, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: So that when
A. D. 600. the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Chriſtians. But the Saxons were Heathens; till Pope Gregory the
Auſtin. Great ſent over hither Auſtin the Monk, by whom Ethelbert King of the South Saxons, and his ſubjects, were converted to Chriſtianity; and the whole iſland ſoon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this iſland among the kingdoms of the
Egbert. Saxons, Egbert, deſcended from the
A. D. 819. Weſt Saxon kings, became ſole monarch of England.

The language in Britain was Britiſh, (now called Welch) or Latin; but, with the Saxons, Engliſh came in, (although extremely different from what it is now). The preſent names of towns, ſhires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England, from the
Angles. Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons.

As ſoon as the Saxons were ſettled,
Danes. the Danes began to trouble and invade them,

them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

Theſe Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway; a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invaſions from thē Danes, Edgar king of England ſets forth the firſt navy. He was intitled King of all Albion, (an old name of this iſland) and was the firſt abſolute monarch. He made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the Engliſh. Edgar.

In this Prince's time, there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country.

Theſe Danes began firſt to make their invaſions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at ſeveral times, and under ſeveral leaders, and were as often repulſed. They uſed to come with vaſt numbers of ſhips, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Wincheſter, &c. Encouraged by ſucceſs and prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themſelves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infeſted the Saxon kings. In proceſs of time, they mixed with the Engliſh (as

was ſaid before) and lived under the
A. D. 978. Saxon government: But Ethelred, then king of England, weary of the Daniſh
Danes maſſacred. inſolence, a conſpiracy is formed, and the Danes are maſſacred in one day all over England.

Swaine. Four years after, Swaine king of Denmark, to revenge the death of his ſubjects, invades England; and, after battles fought, and much cruelty exerciſed, he ſubdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Canutus. Swaine dying, his ſon Canutus ſucceeds in the kingdom; but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon Edmond Ironſide ſucceeds; but Canutus returning with freſh forces from Denmark, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmond dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by Canutus, who now is ſole king of England.

Hardicanute, the laſt Daniſh King, dying without iſſue, Edward ſon of Ethelred, is choſen king. For his great holineſs, he was ſirnamed the Confeſſor, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our princes that attempted to

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cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the Engliſh gentry, of uſing the French tongue and faſhions, in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in Normandy. King's Evil.

The Daniſh government in England laſted but twenty-ſix years, under three kings.

Edward the Confeſſor married the daughter of Earl Godwin, an Engliſh nobleman of great power, but of Daniſh extraction; but wanting iſſue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandſon to his brother, to ſucceed him, and Harold, ſon of Earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and uſurped the crown for himſelf. Harold.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met ſo good reception, that it was ſaid he made a promiſe to that Duke, that in caſe he recovered his kingdom, and died without iſſue, he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William Duke of Normandy ſends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in poſſeſſion, reſolves to keep it. Upon which Duke William having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Haſtings,

Haſtings, and ſets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men, of returning. To Harold he ſent his meſſenger, demanding the kingdom, and his ſubjection: But Harold returned him this anſwer, That unleſs he departed his land, he would make him ſenſible of his juſt diſpleaſure. So Harold advanced his forces into Suſſex, within ſeven miles of his enemy. The Norman Duke, to ſave the effuſion of blood, ſent theſe offers to Harold; either wholly to reſign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in ſingle combat. To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worſt, if it had not been for a ſtratagem they invented,
A. D. 1066. which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and William Duke of Normandy became king of England, under the name of *William the Conqueror*.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT in Ireland,

Upon the chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon it at a venture. It looks exceeding ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that in order to carry a point in your Houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: Firſt, to have an ill cauſe; and, ſecondly, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their

their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cauſe are negligent and ſupine. They think it ſufficient to declare themſelves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, ſailing againſt the tide of favour and preferment, they are eaſily ſcattered and driven back. In ſhort, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to ſpirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle, from the dictates of a good conſcience, or proſpect of ſerving the public, will not go very far under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind. This was amply verified laſt ſeſſions of parliament, upon occaſion of the money-bill, the merits of which I ſhall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the firſt news of its tranſmiſſion hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon diſcourſe with their friends, ſeemed unanimous againſt it. I mean thoſe of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as perſons ready to go any lengths preſcribed them by the court. Yet with only a weak canvaſſing among a very few hands, the bill paſſed after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt perſuading me, or any body elſe, that one man in ten, of thoſe who changed their language, were moved by reaſons any way affecting the merits

rits of the cauſe, but merely through hope, fears, indolence, or good manners. Nay, I have been aſſured from good hands, that there was ſtill a number ſufficient to make a majority againſt the bill, if they had not apprehended the other ſide to be ſecure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this, and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral Houſes of Commons ſince the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a Chief Governor can be commanded to attempt here, wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me. For if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late Speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner) have immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give, is the worſt in the world: That none offered themſelves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other party was more reſolved,

ſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: For you ſay your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions, a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to enquire who is the perſon for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either, and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore, I deſire you will give me leave to reaſon with you a little upon the ſubject, leſt your compliance or inadvertency ſhould put you upon what you may have cauſe to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great buſineſs of the high-flying Whigs at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the Teſt-clauſe. You know likewiſe, that the moderate men, both of High and Low-church, profeſs to be wholly averſe from this deſign, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that ſhelters from the North. Now, I will put the caſe: If the perſon to whom you have promiſed your vote, be one of whom you have the leaſt apprehenſion that he will promote or aſſent to the repealing of that clauſe, whether

it be decent or proper he ſhould be the mouth of an aſſembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? Can a body, whoſe mouth and heart muſt go ſo contrary ways, ever act with ſincerity, or hardly with conſiſtence? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the ſenſe of the Houſe, which, in ſo many points of the greateſt moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as abſurd, as to prefer a man to a biſhoprick, who denies revealed religion. But it may poſſibly be a great deal worſe. What if the perſon you deſign to vote into that important poſt, ſhould not only be a declared enemy of the Sacramental Teſt, but ſhould prove to be a ſolicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addreſſes to complain of it? Do you think it ſo indifferent a thing, that a promiſe of courſe, the effect of compliance, importunity, ſhame of refuſing, or any the like motive, ſhall oblige you paſt the power of retracting.

Perhaps you will tell me, as ſome have already had the weakneſs, that it is of little importance to either party to have a Speaker of their ſide, his buſineſs being only to take the ſenſe of the Houſe, and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able Speaker into the chair, on purpoſe to prevent him from ſtopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I ſhould hardly chuſe, even among my footmen, ſuch a one to deliver a meſſage, whoſe intereſt and opinion led him to wiſh it might miſcarry.

But I remember to have heard Colonel Birch of Herefordſhire ſay, that he was a very ſorry Speaker, whoſe ſingle vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am ſure it is reckoned in England the firſt great teſt of the prevalency of either party in the Houſe. Sir Thomas Lyttleton thought, that a Houſe of Commons with a ſtinking breath (ſuppoſing the Speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the ſmalleſt part of an able Speaker's buſineſs, what he performs in the Houſe, at leaſt if he be in with the Court, when it is hard to ſay how many converts may be made in a circle of dinner or private cabals. And you and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman in that ſtation in England, who, by his own arts, and perſonal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing ſide in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party, who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-cauſes; but ſurely the beſt of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been ſo nice in matters of much leſs importance. Yet I have heard ſome perſons of both ſides, gravely deliver themſelves in this manner, Why ſhould we make the chuſing a Speaker a party-cauſe? Let us fix upon one who is well verſed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe there are too many who would talk at the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about

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aboliſhing the Sacramental Teſt, but the Sacrament itſelf.

But ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful Speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obſtruct any point in parliament, who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Diſſenters, and their high-flying advocates; what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? That is encouragement enough to prejudice the city againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the Queen for repealing the Sacramental Teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon, to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt Epiſcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new Speaker ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame, or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the Speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chuſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter, in a high ſtation, on the bench, or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable to fill the chair with ſome perſon who would be entirely devoted to neither party: But, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe for a leader to their adverſaries; a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which adviſed ſome city in Greece to beg a General from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; but ſo much I remember, that his conduct was ſuch, as they ſoon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily reſolved againſt repealing the Sacramental Teſt, yet, at the ſame time, give the only great employment you have to diſpoſe of, to a perſon who will take that Teſt againſt his ſtomach, (by which word I underſtand many a man's conſcience) who earneſtly wiſhed it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmoſt of his power; ſo that the firſt action, after you meet, will be a ſort of contravention to that Teſt: And will any body go further than your practice, to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this ſubject, I cannot conclude without ſaying ſomething to a very popular argument againſt that Sacramental Teſt, which may be apt to ſhake many of thoſe who would

would otherwiſe wiſh well enough to it. They ſay, it was a new hardſhip put upon the Diſſenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way neceſſary, becauſe we had peaceably lived together ſo long without it. They add ſome other circumſtances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the perſon by whom it was inſerted. Surely ſuch people do not conſider, that the penal laws againſt Diſſenters were made ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government; ſo that all employments of the ſtate, lay as open to them, as they did to the beſt and moſt legal ſubjects. And what progreſs they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full anſwer to that objection.

I remember, upon the tranſmiſſion of that bill with the Teſt-clauſe inſerted, the Diſſenters and their partizans, among other topics, ſpoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: That the preſbyterians were grown very inconſiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come in to the church, if we did not fright them from it by new ſeverities. When the act was paſſed, they preſently changed their ſtyle, and raiſed a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of conſiderable gentry who were laid aſide, and could no longer ſerve their Queen and country: Which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country juſtices, moſt of them of the loweſt

ſize, for eſtate, quality, or underſtanding. However, this puts me in mind of a paſſage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded: That a complaint was made to the King and Council of Sweden, of a prodigious ſwarm of Scots, who, under the condition of Pedlars, infeſted that kingdom to ſuch a degree, as, if not ſuddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the ſtate, by joining with any diſcontented party: Mean-while the Scots, by their agents, placed a good ſum of money to engage the offices of the prime miniſter in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the Council, he was aſſured they were but a few inconſiderable people, that lived honeſtly and poorly, and were not of any conſequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thouſand. The affair was again brought before the Council, and great reproaches made the firſt miniſter, for his ill computation; who, preſently taking the other handle, ſaid, he had reaſon to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the King's conſideration, whether it were ſafe to render deſperate ſo great a body of able men, who had little to loſe, and whom any hard treatment would only ſerve to unite into a power capable of diſturbing, if not deſtroying, the peace of the kingdom. And ſo they were ſuffered to continue.

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THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either ſide who have written upon this ſubject of the Teſt, in making or anſwering objections, ſeem to fail, by not preſſing ſufficiently the chief point upon which the controverſy turns. The arguments uſed by thoſe who write for the church, are very good in their kind; but will have little force under the preſent corruptions of mankind, becauſe the authors treat this ſubject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that, conſidering how few employments of any conſequence fall to the ſhare of thoſe Engliſh who are born in this kingdom, and thoſe few very dearly purchaſed, at the expence of conſcience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: And, if nothing but profit were

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in the caſe, it would hardly coſt me one ſigh, when I ſhould ſee thoſe few ſcraps thrown among every ſpecies of Fanatics, to ſcuffle for among themſelves.

And this will infallibly be the caſe after repealing the Teſt: For every ſubdiviſion of ſect will, with equal juſtice, pretend to have a ſhare; and, as it is uſual with ſharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I ſhall not except the Quakers; becauſe, when the paſſage is once let open for all ſects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confeſs, was firſt put into my head by one of the ſhrewdeſt Quakers in this kingdom *.

MAXIMS

* Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr Swift, was the late Mr Rooke; a man who had a very good taſte for wit, had read abundance of hiſtory, and was perhaps the moſt learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the beſt of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous paſtoral in the Quaker-ſtyle.

MAXIMS controlled in IRELAND.

The Truth of ſome Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long obſervation and experience, drawn from the conſtant practice of the wiſeſt nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all theſe maxims do neceſſarily preſuppoſe a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the ſame natural rights common to the reſt of mankind who have entered into civil ſociety. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain, that before you could inſtitute them into a republic, an allowance muſt be made for thoſe material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legiſlator forming a ſyſtem for the government of Bedlam, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a ſociable animal, ſhould draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general aſſemblies; the conſequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the houſe over their own heads.

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Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and ſhort thinkers, who reaſon upon general topics, without the leaſt allowance for the moſt important circumſtances, which quite alter the nature of the caſe.

This hath been the fate of thoſe ſmall dealers, who are every day publiſhing their thoughts, either on paper, or in their aſſemblies, for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I ſhall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally paſs for uncontrolled in the world, and conſider how far they will ſuit with the preſent condition of this kingdom.

Firſt, It is affirmed by wiſe men, that the dearneſs of things neceſſary for life in a fruitful country, is a certain ſign of wealth and great commerce: For, when ſuch neceſſaries are dear, it muſt abſolutely follow, that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifeſtly falſe in Ireland, for the following reaſon: Some years ago, the ſpecies of money here did probably amount to ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and I have good cauſe to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the caſh brought in to us. But the prodigious diſcouragements we have ſince received in every branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements, and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under cuſtom-

ſtom-houſe officers, the yearly addition of abſentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers reſiding in England, the unexpected ſudden demands of great ſums from the Treaſury, and ſome other drains of perhaps as great conſequence, we now ſee ourſelves reduced to a ſtate (ſince we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at leaſt, if our enemies were of ſuch a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now paſſed ſince the Revolution, when the contention of the Britiſh empire was, moſt unfortunately for us, and altogether againſt the uſual courſe of ſuch mighty changes in government, decided in the leaſt important nation; but with ſuch ravages and ruin executed on both ſides, as to leave the kingdom a deſart, which, in ſome ſort, it ſtill continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641, make half ſuch a deſtruction of houſes, plantations, and perſonal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in our's, by fighting England's battles.

By ſlow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auſpicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our abſentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a conſiderable ſhare in employments of church and ſtate; and, while the ſhort leaſes continued, which were left ſome years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with eaſe and

chearful-

chearfulneſs, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a ſpirit of oppreſſion that is not eaſily removed. And although, in theſe ſhort leaſes, the rent was gradually to encreaſe after ſhort periods; yet as ſoon as the term elapſed, the land was let to the higheſt bidder, moſt commonly without the leaſt effectual clauſe for building or planting. Yet, by many advantages, which this iſland then poſſeſſed, and hath ſince utterly loſt, the rents of lands ſtill grew higher upon every leaſe that expired, till they have arrived at the preſent exorbitance; when the frog, overſwelling himſelf, burſt at laſt.

With the price of land, of neceſſity roſe that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: Hence likewiſe, obviouſly, the rates of all goods and manufactures among ſhopkeepers, the wages of ſervants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miſeries came on faſt, with neither trade nor money left, yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent muſt be paid with, nor any ſhop-keeper, tradeſman or labourer live, at lower expence, for food and cloathing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this firſt head, becauſe the ſame obſervations will clear up and ſtrengthen a good deal of what I ſhall affirm upon the reſt.

The ſecond maxim of thoſe who reaſon upon trade and government, is to aſſert, That low in-

tereſt is a certain ſign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England. But, with relation to Ireland, this maxim is likewiſe entirely falſe.

There are two reaſons for the lowneſs of intereſt in any country. Firſt, that which is uſually alledged, the great plenty of ſpecies: and this is obvious. The ſecond is the want of trade, which ſeldom falls under common obſervation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether diſcouraged, there are few borrowers. In thoſe countries where men can employ a large ſtock, the young merchant, whoſe fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reaſonable intereſt. Neither is it eaſy at this day to find many of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs reaches to employ even ſo inconſiderable a ſum, except among the importers of wine, who, as they have moſt part of their preſent trade in theſe parts of Ireland in their hands, ſo they are the moſt exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all poſſible ſpeed to ruin both themſelves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemen's not knowing how to diſpoſe of their ready money, ariſeth the high purchaſe of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a ſign of wealth. For, the frugal ſquires, who live below their incomes,

have no other way to diſpoſe of their ſavings but by mortgage or purchaſe, by which the rates of land muſt naturally encreaſe; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to ſend their caſh to England, and place it in the funds; which I myſelf am determined to do, the firſt conſiderable ſum I ſhall be maſter of.

It hath likewiſe been a maxim among politicians, that the great increaſe of buildings in the metropolis argues a flouriſhing ſtate. But this, I confeſs, hath been controlled from the example of London; where, by the long and annual parliamentary ſeſſions, ſuch a number of ſenators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw ſuch prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hoſpitable cuſtom of lords and gentlemen living in their antient ſeats, among their tenants, is almoſt loſt in England; is laughed out of doors; in ſo much that, in the middle of Summer, a legal Houſe of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to London, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The caſe in Ireland is yet ſomewhat worſe: For the abſentees of great eſtates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and ſhorten their leaſes, as much as any reſiding ſquire; and the few remaining of

theſe

theſe latter, having ſome vain hope of employments for themſelves or their children, and diſcouraged by the beggarlineſs and thievery of their own miſerable farmers and cottagers, or ſeduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education, (whereof the fruits are ſo apparent) together with that moſt wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a ſeat in their aſſembly, though at ſome years purchaſe of their whole eſtates. Theſe, and ſome other motives better let paſs, have drawn ſuch a concourſe to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the ſeveral branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houſes, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a ſeventh part of the whole city, are ſaid to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the ſame with that which was firſt introduced by Doctor Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The maſon, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the ſlater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houſes, unite their credit, their ſtock, and their money, and, when their work is finiſhed, ſell it to the beſt advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not anſwer half their deſign, they are forced to underſell it at the firſt ſtory, and are all reduced to beggary: In ſo much that I knew a certain fanatic brewer *,

* Leeſon.

who is reported to have ſome hundreds of houſes in this town, is ſaid to have purchaſed the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houſes where the finiſhing is at a ſtand, takes advantage of the builder's diſtreſs, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at leaſt for his bargain.

It is another undiſputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is ſo univerſally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be ſo far true, even in this iſland, that, if we had the African cuſtom or privilege, of ſelling our uſeleſs bodies for ſlaves to foreigners, it would be the moſt uſeful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a moſt unſupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the ſtead. But, in our preſent ſituation, at leaſt five children in ſix who are born, lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very ſkilful computer aſſured me, that above one-half of the ſouls in this kingdom ſupported themſelves by begging and thievery, whereof two-thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: Where that fails, the poorer native muſt either beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wiſh, for ſome years paſt, that, inſtead of diſcouraging our people from ſeeking foreign ſoil, that the

public

public would rather pay for tranſporting all our unneceſſary mortals, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, to America, as draw-backs are ſometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overſtocked. I confeſs myſelf to be touched with a very ſenſible pleaſure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-pariſh or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to ſteal or beg for want of work, to whom death would be the beſt thing to be wiſhed for, on account both of themſelves and the public.

Among all taxes impoſed by the legiſlature, thoſe upon luxury are univerſally allowed to be the moſt equitable and beneficial to the ſubject; and the commoneſt reaſoner on government, might fill a volume with arguments on the ſubject. Yet here again, by the ſingular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly falſe; and the putting it in practice may have ſuch a pernicious conſequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the propoſers were not able to reach.

The miſeries we ſuffer by our abſentees, are of a far more extenſive nature than ſeems to be commonly underſtood. I muſt vindicate myſelf to the reader ſo far, as to declare ſolemnly, that what I ſhall ſay of thoſe lords and ſquires, doth not ariſe from the leaſt regard I have for their underſtandings, their virtues, or their perſons. For, although I have not the honour of the leaſt

acquaintance with any one among them, (my ambition not ſoaring ſo high), yet I am too good a witneſs of the ſituation they have been in for thirty years paſt, the veneration paid them by the people, the high eſteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and diſtinction they receive from the court, the weight and conſequence of their intereſt, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardſhips their country might ſuffer from England, wiſely conſidering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the ſame bottom.

SENT

SENT TO

DOCTOR SWIFT,

BY

A QUAKER,

When THREE HUNDRED POUNDS were bid for taking up the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xiv. ver. 45.

" AND the people ſaid unto Saul, Shall
" Jonathan die, who hath wrought this
" great ſalvation in Iſrael? God forbid: As the
" LORD liveth, there ſhall not one hair of his
" head fall to the ground; for he wrought with
" GOD this day. So the people reſcued Jona-
" than, that he died not."

A LETTER FROM Sir John Browne to Doctor Swift.

Rev. Sir, *Dawſon-Sreet, April* 4. 1728.

BY a ſtrange fatality, though you were the only perſon in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the ſecret of it: The ignorant poor man, who was entruſted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the ſecret from all others, yet, from the nature of the ſubject, he concluded, that I could have no intereſt in concealing it from you, who were ſo univerſally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of Ireland. But, though the accident gave me ſome uneaſineſs at firſt; yet, when I conſider your character, I cannot doubt (however ſlender the foundation of ſuch a hope may be from any merits of my own) but your generoſity will oblige you to conceal what

what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I ſhall not preſume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original, and progreſs of the parliamentary accuſations and votes againſt me; although, would you do me the honour to enquire, I could eaſily convince you from my own particular caſe, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: One which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the ſubject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may ſay ſo) in the ſubject, and deſcribes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I ſhall beg of you, is to ſuſpend your judgment upon it, ſince all parties allow, that although I had ſeveral ſummons from the committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their ſummons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithſtanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may ſay without injury to Mr Bingham: For ſure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magiſtrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-Juſtice, who takes examinations againſt him: Examinations

tions that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent alſo.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to ſay, I went from Ireland loaded with the ſevereſt cenſures of the Houſe of Commons; injured, as I thought, and oppreſſed to the greateſt degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itſelf; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering intereſt.

I fought, in England, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home: My public character followed me: My countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is ſociable: I was forced to herd with ſtrangers. A Prime Miniſter, engaged in the ſucceſs of a ſcheme, wants no emiſſaries to ſpy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately ſet by thoſe ſort of creatures: My ſentiments on the ſtate of our money-matters were induſtriouſly ſifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was ſerved with his Majeſty's ſummons. In a hurry I ran out of town, and ſtaid in the country a while: But, on my return again, found another ſummons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the diſmal effects of power at home, from riſking a ſecond ſhipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the Cock-pit.

It is true my appearance at the Cock-pit, to thoſe who knew me only by the votes of the Houſe

Houſe of Commons, muſt have looked like a deſign of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worſt colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the diſmal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehenſions of ſecond dangers? Is there no allowance for a man young in the knowledge of the world, under all theſe fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated ſummons of the council of England, in which his Majeſty was preſent; and if he was there, after a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition, forced to tell his ſentiments? Forced, Sir, to tell his ſentiments, not in the manner repreſented to the world, but in a manner the moſt cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppoſe the inclinations of our parliament.

But, alas, the conſequence! You, Sir, the defender of Ireland, were ſoon engaged againſt me on that account: And that fatal genius of your's, in an inſtant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I bleſſed it. The cauſe which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the laſt thing which one would ſacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that pleaſure, whilſt you thought it neceſſary for the public good ſo to do: But, now the end is ſerved, Dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato being told that certain perſons aſperſed his character, and repreſented him abroad as a very

very ill man; inſtead of expoſtulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himſelf, ſaying, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato ſhall give his accuſers the lie.*

Could I ſet before me a greater example? Under the general diſpleaſure of my country, under all the cenſures which the reſtleſs malice of my enemies could deviſe, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myſelf in, was, by a ſteady love for my country, and by manifeſt acts of affection thereto, to be a ſilent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppreſs me. They have already gained their cauſe by you: But I muſt ſay, it was not the ſword of Ajax, but the armour of Achilles, which he put on, that won the day.

The cauſe for which you undertook my ruin, was the cauſe of my country: It was a good cauſe, and you ſhall ever find me of that ſide. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works ſubſiſt, where-ever they be read, even unto the end of time, muſt I be branded as a villain. It is a hard ſentence; and yet, unleſs the ſpear of Achilles, the ſame inſtrument which gave the wound, adminiſter the remedy, it muſt be ſo.

In ſhort, Sir, you muſt be a man of honour: It is not poſſible that honour ſhould be wanting where all the diſtinguiſhed characteriſtics of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a ſecret which accident has given you a part of, and I am ſure you will keep it.

The ſource of all my misfortunes, was the vote of the Houſe of Commons: But I have laboured, however, as I always ſhall, to ſerve my country, and make myſelf agreeable to them: And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private converſation of my countrymen, which is the ſureſt and beſt way to know our true intereſt, yet I flatter myſelf, that my little Eſſays may be uſeful; at leaſt they may be no bad beginning, and you know it is eaſy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it uſeleſs to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's miſtake made me determine this private application to you: And I muſt ſay, that I ſhall reckon it no ſmall degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean-time, I ſhall beg the favour of you, to keep a ſecret, which no other perſon but my printer, my bookſeller, and the bearer, knows.

I am, Rev. Sir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A LETTER ON Mr M'CULLA's Project about HALFPENCE, and a new one propoſed.

Written in 1729.

SIR,

YOU deſire to know my opinion concerning Mr M'Culla's project, of circulating notes ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of Halfpence and Pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: But I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt miniſter of ſtate, down to a corn-cutter. But

I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man: Becauſe it is too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſeth any ſcheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin, is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former; ſince the Crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here, as they do in England. One thing in Mr M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, braſs, iron, or any other material (except gold and ſilver) as well as upon paper. The queſtion is, Whether I can ſue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand or ſeal, nor witneſs to prove it? To ſupply this, he hath propoſed, that the materials upon which his note is written, ſhall be in ſome degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His ſcheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, ſtampt with a promiſſory note to pay you twenty-pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you ſhall return them. Eight and forty of theſe halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound; and he ſells you that pound, coined and ſtamped, for two ſhillings: By which he

clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to ſay, two-pence in every ſhilling.

This will certainly ariſe to a great ſum, if he ſhould circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of ſilver, may very probably require: Enough indeed to make any Iriſh tradeſman's fortune; which, however, I ſhould not repine at in the leaſt, if we could be ſure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raiſe the common objection, why Mr M'Culla would not give ſecurity to pay the whole ſum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord Dartmouth and Colonel Moor were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me ſome anſwers plauſible enough. Firſt, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinſic value than any of thoſe coined by patents, the bulk and goodneſs of the metal equalling the beſt Engliſh halfpence made by the Crown: That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and deſigning people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, ſince he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to ſupport: And, laſtly, that his copper, as is already ſaid, being equal in value and bulk to the Engliſh halfpence, he did not apprehend they ſhould ever be returned, unleſs a combination, proceeding from ſpite and envy, might be formed againſt him.

But there are ſome points in this propoſal which I cannot well anſwer for, nor do I know whether he

he will be able to do it himſelf. The firſt is, Whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the Crown provided for the Engliſh halfpence and farthings? And, ſecondly, Whether he will always continue to give us as good? And, thirdly, When he will think fit to ſtop his hand, and give us no more? For I ſhould be as ſorry to be at the mercy of Mr M'Culla, as of Mr Wood.

There is another difficulty of the laſt importance. It is known enough, that the Crown is ſuppoſed to be neither gainer nor loſer by the coinage of any metal: For they ſubtract, or ought to ſubtract, no more from the intrinſic value, than what will juſt pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to, is the queſtion. By what I could gather from Mr M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteen-pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he ſells his copper notes for two ſhillings the pound, and will pay twenty-pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper muſt be ſixpence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world ſhould be particularly ſatisfied on this article, before he vends his notes: For the diſcount of 30 *per cent.* is prodigious, and vaſtly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a diſcount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon I think a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr M'Culla's coin, at two

ſhillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen-pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loſer of 41l. 13s. 4d. *per cent.* But, however, this high diſcount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection againſt Mr M'Culla's propoſal; becauſe, if the charge of coinage will honeſtly amount to ſo much, and we ſuppoſe his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater ſufferer of the two; becauſe the buyer can loſe but fourpence in a pound, and Mr M'Culla muſt loſe ſixpence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are ſome points which muſt be ſettled to the general ſatisfaction, before we can ſafely take Mr M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that ſatisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The firſt point is, That we ſhall be always ſure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineneſs to the beſt Engliſh halfpence.

The ſecond point is, To know what allowance he makes to himſelf, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is eaſy, by his own ſcheme; for, as I have ſaid before, he propoſes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two ſhillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty-pence: So that, ſuppoſing pure copper to be fourteen-pence a-pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already obſerved, beſides 16

per

per cent. when he ſells it. But if to this he adds any alloy, to debaſe the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr M'Culla's promiſſory notes will, to the intrinſic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* diſcount.

For, ſubtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60l. worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100l. which added to

	41	13	4
	5	10	0
will be *per cent.*	47	3	4

That we are under great diſtreſs for change, and that Mr M'Culla's copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, is leſs liable to objection than the project of Wood, may be granted; but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty-pence a-pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr M'Culla, and obſerved as follows:

Firſt, I weighed Mr M'Culla's halfpenny againſt an Engliſh one of K. Charles II. which outweighed Mr M'Culla's a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewiſe weighed an Iriſh Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr M'Culla's 12½ *per cent.* It had a very fair and deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkillfully round.

I found, that even a common harp halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr M'Culla's. And even ſome of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digeſting them better. I am no enemy to Mr M'Culla's project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King Charles II. which I weighed againſt Mr M'Culla's, was of the faireſt kind I had ſeen: However, it is plain the Crown could afford it without being a loſer. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honeſt than they have ſince thought fit to be; for I confeſs not to have met thoſe of any other year ſo weighty, or in appearance of ſo good metal, among all the copper coins of the three laſt reigns: Yet theſe, however, did much outweigh thoſe of Mr Mac-Culla; for I have tried the experiment on an hundred of them. I have indeed ſeen accidentally one or two very light; but it muſt certainly have been done by chance, or rather I ſuppoſe them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at preſent. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me, that it is only fourteen-pence a-

pound;

pound; by which I obſerve he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.*—and therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to ſay the truth, the dearneſs or cheapneſs of the metal do not properly enter into the queſtion. What we deſire is, that it ſhould be of the beſt kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver ſhould be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if poſſible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at moſt.

Mr M'Culla muſt alſo give good ſecurity, that he will coin only a determinate ſum, not exceeding twenty thouſand pounds; by which, altho' he ſhould deal with all uprightneſs imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King Charles II. he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thouſand two hundred pounds:—a very good additional job to a private tradeſman's fortune.

I muſt adviſe him alſo, to employ better workmen, and make his impreſſions deeper and plainer, by which a riſing rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preſerve the letter from wearing out too ſoon. He hath no wardens nor maſters, or other officers of the mint, to ſuck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the Crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and ſkilful workmen.

Whether this project will ſucceed in Mr MacCulla's hands, (which, if it be honeſtly executed, I ſhould be glad to ſee); one thing I am confident of,

of, that it might be eaſily brought to perfection, by a ſociety of nine or ten honeſt gentlemen of fortune, who wiſh well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor loſers, further than the bare intereſt of their money. And Mr M'Culla, as being the firſt ſtarter of the ſcheme, might be conſidered and rewarded by ſuch a ſociety; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I ſhould think it an honour and happineſs to be one, even with borrowed money upon the beſt ſecurity I could give. And, firſt, I am confident, without any ſkill, but by general reaſon, that the charge of coining copper would be very much leſs than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thouſand pounds in halfpence and farthings, would be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and moſt *unneceſſary diſtreſs* for the want of ſilver; and that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the ſum would ſuffice.

For I compute, and reaſon thus: The city of Dublin, by a groſs computation, contains ten thouſand families; and, I am told by ſhopkeepers, that if ſilver were as plenty as uſual, two ſhillings in copper would be ſufficient, in the courſe of buſineſs, for each family; but, in conſideration of the want of ſilver, I would allow five ſhillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500l. and to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp halfpence, which are left of Lord Dartmouth's

Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under King Charles II.; and the ſmall Patrick and David for farthings. To the reſt of the kingdom, I would aſſign the 7,500l. remaining; reckoning Dublin to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of England; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at leaſt are beggars, in all circumſtances except that of wandering about for alms; and that circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of Ireland, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply. For, if we give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villany of Wood, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in copper, for the uſe of Ireland; whereby every family

family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although Wood might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent,—and altho' no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half-a-crown.

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: Suppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200l. a-piece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with ſeven *per cent.* for their own uſe: That they ſhould as ſoon as poſſible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for the mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000l. each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of King Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their

joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for ſeven or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme hath anſwered to their own intention, as well as to the ſatisfaction of the public. And, if they find 7 *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go. And, when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice, that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen; unleſs the real, univerſal, unſolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves, one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed; and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000l. in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt, It is plain, that, inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr M'Culla, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr M'Culla charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr M'Culla can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one in ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that their's ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That whereas Mr M'Culla's halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King Charles II. theſe gentlemen will oblige themſelves to the public, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the public, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the beſt Engliſh halfpence that have been coined in the three laſt reigns, which very much outweigh thoſe of Mr M'Culla. And this advantage will ariſe in proportion, by leſſening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at moſt. But I confeſs myſelf in the dark on that article; only I think it impoſſible it ſhould amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwiſe the coiners of thoſe counterfeit

terfeit halfpence called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in ſuch a ſociety would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* inſtead of 16, the being ſure of the goodneſs and juſt weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply the wants and deſires of the kingdom: And all this under the ſecurity of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the beſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction, that they had no deſign to turn the ſcheme into a job.

As to any miſtakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I ſhall not deſcend ſo low as to juſtify them againſt any caviller.

The ſtrongeſt objection againſt what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear viſionary, is the difficulty to find half a ſcore gentlemen, who, out of a public ſpirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, to be overſeers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain, that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr M'Culla himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town, if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconveniency: That knaviſh

men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while thoſe who are honeſt and beſt intentioned, may be the inſtrument of as much miſchief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which I doubt will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well, that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200l. beſides 20l. *per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that this making in all 300l. it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000l.

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, ſuch as I have already deſcribed, (if ſuch are to be found) are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelves than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, for the money they advance; which will hardly afford

ford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt Engliſh half-pence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: And do likewiſe bind themſelves, to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make, ſo as not to be diſcovered: For it is plain, that thoſe bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr M'Culla's copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr M'Culla charges good copper at fourteen-pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. 6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight - - 5760 grains.
Mr M'Culla's copper is fourteen-pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr M'Culla's penny-notes, one with another, weigh - - 524 grains.
By which computation, 2s. of his notes, which he fells for one lb. weight, will weigh - - 6288 grains.
But one lb. Avoirdupois weighs, as above, - - - - 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr M'Culla's profit, in point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs - - - 149 grains.
Mr M'Culla's halfpenny weighs - 131 grains.

The difference is 18
Which is equal to 10¼ *per cent.*

The Engliſh halfpenny of King Charles II. weighs - - 167 grains.
Mr M'Culla's halfpenny weighs - 131 grains.

The difference 36
Which difference allowed a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another Computation.

Mr M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty-pence, for which he demands two ſhillings.

His

His coinage he computes at ſixpence *per* pound weight; therefore, he laying out only twenty-pence, and gaining four-pence, he makes *per cent.* profit, - - - - 20

The ſixpence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* - - 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* - - 10

By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loſes *per cent.* - 60

If Mr M'Culla's coins will not paſs, and he refuſes to receive them back, the owner cannot ſell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound weight; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will loſe 60 *per cent.*

The ſcheme of the ſociety, raiſed as high as it can poſſibly be, will be only thus:

For intereſt of their money, *per cent.* - 8

For coinage, inſtead of 10, ſuppoſe, at moſt, *per cent.* - - - 20

For 300l. laid out for tools, a mint, and houſe-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000l. - - - 3

Charges in all, upon intereſt, coinage, *&c.* *per cent.* - - - 31

Which, with all the advantages above mentioned, of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs

neſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and laſtly, their paying in gold and ſilver for all their coin returned upon their hands without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not, in this ſcheme, recommend the method of promiſſory notes after Mr M'Culla's manner; but, as I have ſeen in old Iriſh coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one ſide; with the year of our Lord, and the Iriſh Harp, on the reverſe.

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON,

On the Occaſion of WOOD's PROJECT.

Written in the year 1724.

GALAT. vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to conſult our own private good, before the private good of any other perſon whatſoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourſelves, but not as well as ourſelves. The love we have for ourſelves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, ſo my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myſelf, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy.

Thus,

Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myſelf firſt, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in perſuading you to; for the want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred: For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone, without ruining myſelf; or recover his reputation, without blaſting mine. All this I am obliged to do: And, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the common-wealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves: And this is uſually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more ſtrictly obliged, than even that of loving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves are alſo contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the common-

wealth,

wealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, becauſe it was the greateſt of all virtues, and was ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it: And many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, ſcarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in ſuch a baſe, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In thoſe times it was common for men to ſacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own ſouls, for a little preſent gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly muſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of ſome petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themſelves muſt at laſt be involved? Are not theſe corruptions gotten among the meaneſt of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the diſpoſal of their own lives and fortunes, without conſidering whether it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one inſtance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

But

But here I would not be miſunderſtood: By the love of our country, I do not mean loyalty to our King; for that is a duty of another nature, and a man may be very loyal in the common ſenſe of the word, without one grain of public good at his heart. Witneſs this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, ſince the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuch high conſtant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: And, at the ſame time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I ſay the people, I mean the bulk or maſs of the people, for I have nothing to do with thoſe in power.

Therefore I ſhall think my time not ill ſpent, if I can perſuade moſt or all of you who hear me, to ſhew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your ſeveral ſtations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly perſuaded, that all our misfortunes ariſe from no other original cauſe, than that general diſregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to ſhew you three things.

Firſt, That there are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind, to do miſchief to the public.

And, laſtly, That all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, There are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wiſe man, who ſaved a city by his counſel. It hath often happened, that a private ſoldier, by ſome unexpected brave attempt, hath been inſtrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obſcure men have been authors of very uſeful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honeſty and induſtry in a poor tradeſman, will ſometimes ſpread through a neighbourhood, when others ſee how ſucceſsful he is; and thus ſo many uſeful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is bleſſed with a true public ſpirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make uſe of that bleſſing, for the ends it was given him, by ſome means or other: And therefore it hath been obſerved in moſt ages, that the greateſt actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wiſdom or courage, the contrivance or induſtry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the ſafety of a kingdom hath often been owing to thoſe hands, from whence it was leaſt expected.

But, ſecondly, it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind, to do miiſchief to the

public: And hence arise most of those miseries, with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians? The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for the public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers; who, by imposing bad ware at foreign markets, in almost the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers, in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is, at this present, endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves, who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain, which at last must end in their own ruin as well as our's. I confess it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject; to exhort you to a

love

love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your prince, and your fellow-ſubjects, before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from the pulpit. But ſurely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-houſe, to deprive us of all means to exerciſe hoſpitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a deſart for wild beaſts and robbers, to deſtroy all arts and ſciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obſcure ill-deſigning projector, and his followers; it is time for the paſtor to cry out, that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to ſtand together, and all to conſult the common ſafety. And God be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs, in raiſing ſuch a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point, in the midſt of all our former diviſions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious deſign of this peſtilent enemy to the nation.

But from hence it clearly follows, how neceſſary the love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is in every particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many opportunities of doing public miſchief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private

advantage; but where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs is equally ſhared,—and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Mean-while the trader, the farmer, and the ſhop-keeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great meaſure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meaneſt wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is falſe accuſation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long ſince no man, whoſe opinions were thought to differ from thoſe in faſhion, could ſafely converſe beyond his neareſt friends, for fear of being ſworn againſt, as a traitor, by thoſe who made a traffic of perjury and ſubornation; by which the very peace of the nation was diſturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got looſe. And it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of theſe falſe accuſers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and ſubornation, to take away the lives of ſeveral innocent perſons here among us; and, indeed, there could

could not be a more proper inſtrument for ſuch a work.

Another method by which the meaneſt people may do injury to the public, is the ſpreading of lies and falſe rumours; thus raiſing a diſtruſt among the people of a nation, cauſing them to miſtake their true intereſt, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewiſe too ſucceſsful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom miſled by the groſſeſt lies, raiſed upon occaſion to ſerve ſome particular turn. As it hath alſo happened in the caſe I lately mentioned, where one obſcure man, by repreſenting our wants where they were leaſt, and concealing them where they were greateſt, had almoſt ſucceeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may ſtill ſucceed, if God doth not continue that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.

Thus we ſee the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts; and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united, and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger in a great

ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods that they might not be thrown overboard to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, thro' greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families periſhed firſt. Let thoſe among us conſider this and tremble, whoſe houſes are privately ſtored with thoſe materials of beggary and deſolation, lately brought over to be ſcattered like a peſtilence among their countrymen, which may probably firſt ſeize upon themſelves and their families, until their houſes ſhall be made a dunghill.

I ſhall mention one practice more, by which the meaneſt inſtruments often ſucceed in doing public miſchief; and this is by deceiving us with plauſible arguments, to make us believe that the moſt ruinous project they can offer, is intended for our good, as it happened in the caſe ſo often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their ſmall dealings, did not diſcover the ſerpent in the braſs, but were ready, like the Iſraelites, to offer incenſe to it; neither could the wiſdom of the nation convince them, until ſome of good intentions made the cheat ſo plain to their ſight, that thoſe who run may read. And thus the deſign was to treat us, in every point, as the

Philiſtines

Philiſtines treated Samſon, (I mean when he was betrayed by Dalilah) firſt to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of braſs.

I proceed to the laſt thing I propoſed, which was to ſhew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, It is apparent from Scripture, and moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the ſafety and welfare of nations are under the moſt peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promiſed Abraham to ſave Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reaſon which God gave to Jonas for not deſtroying Nineveh, was, becauſe there were ſix-ſcore thouſand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order; and therefore whoever attempts to breed confuſion or diſturbance among a people, doth his utmoſt to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it in the hands of the devil, who is the author of confuſion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous ſoever, committed againſt particular perſons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders againſt their country lye under this grievous difficulty, that it is next to impoſſible to obtain a pardon, or make reſtitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at reſenting injuries, and very ſlow in forgiving them:

them: And how ſhall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How ſhall thoſe, who, by a moſt deſtructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they ſhould no farther ſucceed? The deplorable caſe of ſuch wretches, muſt entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God. For thoſe who know the leaſt in religion, are not ignorant, that without our utmoſt endeavours to make reſtitution to the perſon injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a ſincere repentance, there is no hope of ſalvation given in the goſpel.

Laſtly, All offences againſt our own country, have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe thoſe laws, which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nouriſh us, ſo that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death, for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you, how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our Gracious King, as well as ourſelves. Let us therefore preſerve that public ſpirit which God hath raiſed in us, for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought, the merchant, the ſhopkeeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the defart with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve, or live upon rapine, or at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you, who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more

more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country upon this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious Majeſty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſuborners, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake: To whom, &c.

A PROPOSAL,

THAT

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND ſhould appear conſtantly in IRISH MANUFACTURES.

Written in the year 1729.

THERE was a Treatiſe written about nine years ago, to perſuade the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures *. This Treatiſe was allowed to have not one ſyllable in it of party or diſaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occaſioned by the utter want of trade in every branch, except that ruinous importation of all foreign extravagances from other countries. This Treatiſe was preſented, by the Grand Jury of the city and county of Dublin, as a ſcandalous, ſeditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was

* See vol. iii. p. 327.

was the foreman of the City Grand Jury; but the foreman for the county, was one Dr Seal, regiſter to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, wherein he differed much from the ſentiments of his Lord. The Printer was tried before the late Mr Whitſhed, that famous Lord Chief Juſtice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared upon his ſalvation, that the author was a Jacobite, and had a deſign to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midſt of this proſecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which juſt ſerved to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or ſtrolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of Grafton, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly aſhamed of ſo infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from England a *noli proſequi* for the Printer. Yet the Grand Jury had ſolemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this paſſage (perhaps too much forgotten) to ſhew how dangerous it hath been for the beſt meaning perſon to write one ſyllable in the defence of his country, or diſcover the miſerable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one inſtance more, wholly omitting the famous caſe of the Drapier, and the proclamation againſt him, as well as the perverſeneſs of another jury

againſt the ſame Mr Whitſhed, who was violently bent to act the ſecond part in another ſcene.

About two years ago, there was a ſmall paper printed, which was called *A Short View of the State of Ireland* *; relating the ſeveral cauſes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitſhed was dead, and conſequently the printer was not troubled. Miſt, the famous journaliſt, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his preſs-folks were proſecuted for almoſt a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet diſcharged.

This is our caſe; inſomuch that although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in ſome company, for fear of being thought diſaffected.

But ſince I am determined to take care that the author of this paper ſhall not be diſcovered, (following herein the moſt prudent practice of the Drapier) I will venture to affirm, that the three ſeaſons wherein our corn hath miſcarried, did no more contribute to our preſent miſery, than one ſpoonful of water thrown upon a rat, already drowned, would contribute to his death; and that the preſent plentiful harveſt, although it ſhould be followed by a dozen enſuing, would no more reſtore us, than it would the rat aforeſaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

* See vol. IV. p. 113.

The ſhort of the matter is this: The diſtreſſes of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and ſo have been doing for above a dozen years paſt.

If you demand from whence theſe diſtreſſes have ariſen, I deſire to aſk the following queſtion:

If two-thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return; and if the ſaid kingdom be forbidden the moſt profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing thoſe commodities which are moſt ruinous to itſelf; how ſhall that kingdom ſtand?

If this queſtion were formed into the firſt propoſition of an hypothetical ſyllogiſm, I defy the the man born in Ireland, who is now in the faireſt way of getting a collectorſhip, or a cornet's poſt, to give a good reaſon for denying it.

Let me put another caſe. Suppoſe a gentleman's eſtate of 200l. a year, ſhould ſink to one hundred, by ſome accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not; and ſuppoſe the ſaid gentleman utterly hopeleſs and unqualified ever to retrieve the loſs; how is he otherwiſe to proceed in his future œconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half leſs, unleſs he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a repreſentation of Ireland's condition; only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propoſe a full

remedy

remedy for this, that ſhall ever be granted; but only a ſmall prolongation of life, until God ſhall miraculouſly diſpoſe the hearts of our neighbours, our kinſmen, our fellow-proteſtants, fellow ſubjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to ſtarve without running farther in debt. I am informed, that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that faſhionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000l.; which is, at leaſt, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our abſentees and other foreign drains are paid,—and about 50,000l. more than all the caſh.

It ſeems there are ſeveral ſchemes for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of this formidable ſum, (not the principal, for this is allowed impoſſible). The neceſſity of raiſing ſuch a fund, is ſtrongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and cuſtoms. And is it the fault of Ireland that theſe funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it poſſibly be otherwiſe, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor buſineſs to employ them, if we had? Our diſeaſes are viſible enough, both in their cauſes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impoſſible to be applied.

If my ſteward comes and tells me, that my rents are ſunk ſo low that they are very little more than ſufficient to pay my ſervants their wages, have I any other courſe left, than to

caſhier four in ſix of my raſcally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whoſe inſolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I ſhould think it extremely ſevere in any law, to force me to maintain a houſhold of fifty ſervants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legiſlators.

To return from digreſſing: I am told, one ſcheme for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of our national debt, is by a further duty of forty ſhillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further, by raiſing it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition: Thus weakly arguing from the practice of England.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in diſcourſe, that there is no topic ſo fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland, from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country, whoſe inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of human-kind. I could undertake to name ſix or ſeven of the moſt uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly falſe in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any perſon may deliver his opinion upon it, untill it ſhall have paſſed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be poſitively againſt it.

Firſt, Becauſe there is no nation yet known, in either hemiſphere, where the people of all conditions

conditions are more in want of ſome cordial, to keep up their ſpirits, than in this of our's. I am not in jeſt; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I ſhall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty ſhillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at leaſt to the home-conſumer) will increaſe equally every new ſeſſion of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many of the like inſtances in England, this additional tax will more probably leſſen this branch of the revenue, than increaſe it: And therefore Sir John Stanley, a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms in England, uſed to ſay, That the Houſe of Commons were generally miſtaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you ſhould lay an additional duty of one penny a-pound on raiſins, or ſugar, the revenue, inſtead of riſing, would certainly ſink; and the conſequence would only be, to leſſen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewiſe aſſured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty ſhillings, the French will at leaſt equally raiſe their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon

the balance, by our trade with France, for ſeveral years paſt; and although our gain amounts to no great ſum, we ought to be ſatisfied, ſince we are no loſers, with the only conſolation we are capable of receiving.

Laſtly, The worſt conſequence is behind. If we raiſe the duty on wine to a conſiderable height, we loſe the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable eſtates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a-year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to conſider whether he ſhould live here or in England, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of England, as in ſome very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in œconomy, which paſſes there without reproach, (and chiefly in London itſelf) would amply make up the difference. But the article of French wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: And this it is, which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the ſcale with thoſe few landed men diſengaged from employments, who content themſelves to live hoſpitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obſcurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, aboliſhed this additional duty upon wine; for I am

not

not under the leaſt concern about paying the intereſt of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wiſdom of the Honourable Houſe of Commons; I come now to conſider, by what methods we may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is poſſible.

I never have diſcourſed any reaſonable man upon this ſubject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to leſſen the importation of all unneceſſary commodities, as much as it was poſſible; and likewiſe, either to perſuade our abſentees to ſpend their money at home, which is impoſſible, or tax them at five ſhillings in the pound during their abſence, with ſuch allowances, upon neceſſary occaſions, as it ſhall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three laſt methods are treated by Mr Prior, in his moſt uſeful treatiſe, added to his liſt of abſentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this inſupportable grievance of bringing in the inſtruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom, near ninety thouſand pounds worth of ſilk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thouſand pounds more is expended in muſlin, holland, cambrick, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not eaſy to be collected

collected from the cuſtom-houſe book, being a kind of goods that take up little room, and is eaſily run; but, conſidering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dreſs, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a-yard, muſt be very great. The tea, rated at ſeven ſhillings *per* pound, comes to near twelve thouſand pounds; but, conſidering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, ſempſtreſs, and tradeſman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, muſt needs coſt the kingdom double that ſum. Coffee is ſomewhat above 7000l. I have ſeen no account of chocolate, and ſome other Indian or American goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000l. The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000l. The laviſhing of all which money is juſt as prudent and neceſſary, as to ſee a man in an embroidered coat begging out of Newgate in an old ſhoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw ſilk is leſs pernicious; becauſe we have ſome ſhare in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumſtances to trifle. It coſts us above 40,000l. a-year: And if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country ſhifts, I wiſh they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineneſs of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleneſs will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is ſo weak, as to hope or expect that ſuch a reformation can be brought about

about by a law. But a thorough, hearty, unanimous vote, in both Houſes of Parliament, might perhaps anſwer as well: Every ſenator, noble, or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himſelf, nor any of his family, would, in their dreſs, or furniture of their houſes, make uſe of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would uſe the utmoſt of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents, and friends, to follow their example.

A

A
LETTER
TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,
concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have ſo often attended your Grace, and called upon me with their ſchemes and propoſals, were with me on Thurſday laſt; when he who ſpoke for the reſt, and in the name of his abſent brethren, ſaid it was the opinion of the whole body, That if ſomewhat were written at this time by an able hand, to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good uſe to the nation in general, and preſerve many hundreds of their trade from ſtarving. To which I anſwered, That it was hard for any man of common ſpirit, to turn his thoughts to ſuch ſpeculations, without diſcovering a reſentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot

reflect

reflect on the ſingular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without ſome emotion, and without often examining, as I paſs the ſtreets, whether thoſe animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the ſame ſpecies with what I have ſeen very like them in England, as to the outward ſhape, but differing in their notions, nature, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a foreſt; which any man of common prudence would immediately diſcover, by perſuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reaſon, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my Lord, I am very confident of; That if God Almighty, for our ſins, would moſt juſtly ſend us a peſtilence, whoever ſhould dare to diſcover his grief in public for ſuch a viſitation, would certainly be cenſured for diſaffection to the government. For I ſolemnly profeſs, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone theſe many years, whereof any man, whoſe opinions were not in faſhion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, becauſe although a mother, when ſhe hath corrected her child, may ſometimes force it to kiſs the rod, yet ſhe will never give that power to the foot-boy, or the ſcullion.

My Lord, There are two things for the people of this kingdom to conſider: Firſt, Their preſent

ſent evil condition; and, ſecondly, What can be done in ſome degree to remedy it.

I ſhall not enter into a particular deſcription of our preſent miſery: It hath been already done in ſeveral papers, and very fully in one intitled *A ſhort view of the State of Ireland.* It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmoſt rigour, the remiſſion of a million every year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppreſſion of landlords, and diſcouragement of agriculture.

Now all thoſe evils are without the poſſibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence againſt ruinous folly, will be always in our power, in ſpite of the diſcouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppreſſion, we labour under: But our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be ſoftened, our abſentees never return, our endleſs foreign payments never be leſſened, our own landlords never be leſs exacting.

All other ſchemes for preſerving this kingdom from utter ruin, are idle and viſionary,—conſequently drawn from wrong reaſoning, and from general topics, which, for the ſame cauſes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly falſe in our's; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I ſhall ſay at preſent is likely to produce.

I am weary of ſo many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of ſo many crude propoſals, in letters ſent me from unknown hands; of ſo many contradictory ſpeculations, about raiſing or ſinking the value of gold and ſilver: I am not in the leaſt ſorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the cauſes that drive them from us, ſince the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are "the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumſtances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to ſupport them.

If a private gentleman's income be ſunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and that he hath no other method to ſupply the deficiency, I deſire to know, my Lord, whether ſuch a perſon hath any other courſe to take, than to ſink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to ſave himſelf from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the caſe of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually ſinking us for above a dozen years paſt, to a degree that we are at leaſt by two-thirds in a worſe condition than was ever known ſince the Revolution. Therefore, inſtead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out ſome expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed ſo neceſſary in all private families, and in its own nature ſo eaſy to be put in practice, may meet with ſtrong oppoſition by the cowardly ſlaviſh indulgence of the men, to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, ſtrictly adhering to the rules of modern education, ſeem to employ their whole ſtock of invention in contriving new arts of profuſion, faſter than the moſt parſimonious huſband can afford: And, to compaſs this work the more effectually, their univerſal maxim is to deſpiſe and deteſt every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and moſt to value whatever comes from the very remoteſt parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that if the virtuoſi could once find out a world in the moon, with a paſſage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime coſt of wine yearly imported to Ireland, is valued at 30,000l.; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that ſum. The lace, ſilks, callicoes, and all other unneceſſary ornaments for women, including Engliſh cloths and ſtuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute groſsly) about 400,000l.

Now, if we ſhould allow the 30,000l. wherein the women have their ſhare, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000l. more for over-reaching, there would ſtill remain 300,000l. annually ſpent, for unwholeſome drugs and unneceſſary

neceſſary finery. Which prodigious ſum would be wholly ſaved, and many thouſands of our miſerable ſhop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably ſupported.

Let ſpeculative people buſy their brains as much as they pleaſe, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from ſinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dreſs and luxury.

It is abſolutely ſo in fact, that every huſband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nouriſhing a poiſonous devouring ſerpent in his boſom, with all the miſchief, but with none of its wiſdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might ſtill vie with each other in the courſe of foppery, and ſtill have room left to vie with each other, and equally ſhow their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of Iriſh ſtuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholeſome ſlops for breakfaſt, we would hear no more of their ſpleen, hyſterics, cholics, palpitations, and aſthmas. They might ſtill be allowed to ruin each other, and their huſbands at play, becauſe the money loſt would only circulate among ourſelves.

My Lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the ſottiſhneſs of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the moſt effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common courſe of buying and ſelling the very neceſſaries of life in our markets, unleſs we abſo-

lutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and ſilk, who have ſo frequently offered propoſals both to your Grace, and to me, are the hotteſt and coldeſt generation of men that I have known. About a month ago they attended your Grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and deſigned me the ſame favour. They deſired you would recommend to your clergy, to wear gowns of Iriſh ſtuffs, which might probably ſpread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the univerſity, and among the citizens of thoſe corporations who appear in gowns on ſolemn occaſions. I then mentioned a kind of ſtuff, not above eight-pence a-yard, which I heard had been contrived by ſome of the trade, and was very convenient. I deſired they would prepare ſome of that, or any ſort of black ſtuff on a certain day, when your Grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your Grace's viſitation approaching, you could then have the beſt opportunity of ſeeing what could be done in a matter of ſuch conſequence, as they ſeemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But inſtead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new propoſal, that ſomething ſhould be written by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general

general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I aſked if they had prepared the ſtuffs, as they had promiſed, and your Grace expected; but they had not made the leaſt ſtep in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, ſome years ago, propoſe to the maſters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of ſilk and wool, that they ſhould meet together, and, after mature conſideration, publiſh advertiſements to the following purpoſe:

That, in order to encourage the wearing of Iriſh manufactures in ſilk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they, the under-ſigned, would enter into bonds for themſelves, and for each other, to ſell the ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, cloths, and ſilks, made to the beſt perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in ſuch a manner, that if a child were ſent to any of their ſhops, the buyer might be ſecure of the value and goodneſs, and meaſure of the ware: And leſt this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be agreed on. And if any perſon whatever ſhould complain that he was ill-uſed in the value and goodneſs of what he bought, the matter ſhould be examined; the perſon injured be fully ſatisfied by the whole corporation, without delay; and the diſhoneſt ſeller be ſtruck out of the ſociety, unleſs it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from miſtake.

The mortal danger is, that if theſe dealers could prevail, by the goodneſs and cheapneſs of their cloths and ſtuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favour of their goods, they would relapſe into the knaviſh practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even ſo low as a common ale-ſeller; who, as ſoon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outſells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worſt he can buy, till his cuſtomers will come no more. Thus I have known at London, in a general mourning, the drapers dye black, all their old damaged goods, and ſell them at double rates; then complain and petition the court, that they are ready to ſtarve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I ſay, thoſe principal weavers, who would enter into ſuch a compact as I have mentioned, muſt give ſufficient ſecurity againſt all ſuch practices: For, if once the women can perſuade their huſbands, that foreign goods, beſides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more ſervice, our laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

I do not here pretend to digeſt perfectly the method by which theſe principal ſhop-keepers ſhall proceed in ſuch a propoſal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reaſonably be objected againſt.

We have ſeen what a deſtructive loſs the kingdom received, by the deteſtable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwith-

notwithſtanding all the care of the governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000l. a-year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we ſhall practiſe like pedlars, and ſacrifice all honeſty to the preſent urging advantage.

What I have ſaid may ſerve as an anſwer to the deſire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themſelves to the parliament in their next ſeſſion. Let them prevail on the Houſe of Commons, to grant one very reaſonable requeſt; and I ſhall think there is ſtill ſome ſpirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpoſe: Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this Houſe will, for the future, wear no cloths but ſuch as are made of Iriſh growth, or of Iriſh manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: And that they will, to the utmoſt, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants to follow their example. And if, at the ſame time, they could baniſh tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their ſcandal over an infuſion of ſage, or other wholeſome domeſtic vegetables, we might poſſibly be able to ſubſiſt, and pay our abſentees, penſioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, ſtudents, ſchool-boys, ſplenetic viſitors

viſitors of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epſom, with all other ſmaller drains, by ſending our crude unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oat-meal for our own ſubſiſtence.

I have been, for a dozen years paſt, wiſely prognoſticating the preſent condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common ſenſe, would foretell, with as little ſagacity as myſelf. My meaning is, that a conſumptive body muſt needs die, which hath ſpent all its ſpirits, and received no nouriſhment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardneſs of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill ſeaſons, which better climates than our's are more expoſed to; or to ſcarcity of ſilver, which to a nation of liberty, would only be a ſlight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

ANSWER

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the year 1729.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think, that I received a letter from you two * laſt Summer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was ſent me, and I ordered an anſwer to it to be printed; but it ſeems it had little effect, and I ſuppoſe this will not have much more. But the heart of this people is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have cloſed. And, Gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is too regardleſs of what we write for the public good: That, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any proſpect of advantage or of reputation, which letter is not to be had but by ſubſcribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of ſending it into the world, unleſs we will be at all, or half the expence: And

* Trueman and Layfield.

And although we are willing enough to beſtow our labours, we think it unreaſonable to be out of pocket; becauſe it probably may not conſiſt with the ſituation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great meaſure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended, that the world ſhould not only know your ſentiments, but my anſwer, which I ſhall impartially give.

That great Prelate, in whoſe cover you directed your letter, ſent it to me this morning; and I begin my anſwer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be along with my anſwer; becauſe, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I ſhall therefore now go on to anſwer your letter, in all manner of ſincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myſelf to be only an imaginary perſon. For although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never anſwered it otherwiſe than in print; neither was I at a loſs to know the reaſons why ſo many people of this kingdom were tranſporting themſelves to America. And if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Pennſylvania, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare, that thoſe who were tempted, by ſuch a narrative, to ſuch a journey, were fools, and

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the author a moſt impudent knave; at leaſt, if it be the ſame pamphlet I ſaw when it firſt came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to William Penn, (whom, by a miſtake, you call Sir William Penn), and ſtyling him, by authority of the Scripture, Moſt Noble Governor. For I was very well acquainted with Penn, and did, ſome years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who ſpoke ſo many things in praiſe of the ſoil and climate, which Penn himſelf did abſolutely contradict. For he did aſſure me, that this country wanted the ſhelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudſon's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which deſtroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, New-York, Virginia, and other parts leſs northward, or more defended by mountains, are deſcribed as excellent countries: But upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to ſeek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is eaſier to be determined. They conceive themſelves to live under the tyranny of moſt cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreaſing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you ſeem not to know the reaſon. Thirdly, You lament moſt juſtly the money ſpent by abſentees in England. Fourthly, You complain

that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tythe-collectors oppreſs you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of perferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatſoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of ſilver, and want all other money.

I could eaſily add ſome other motives, which to men of ſpirit, who deſire and expect, and think they deſerve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named, to drive them out of this kingdom. But as theſe ſpeculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I ſhall chuſe to let them paſs unmentioned. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency Burnet, *(O fili, nec tali indigne parente!)* hath not hitherto been able to perſuade his vaſſals, by his oratory in the ſtyle of a command, to ſettle a revenue on his Vice-Royal perſon. I have been likewiſe aſſured, that in one of thoſe colonies on the Continent, which nature hath ſo far favoured, as (by the induſtry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the ſtubbornneſs of the people, who having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might ſell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleaſed, and ſeem by their practice very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But to return to my ſubject: I muſt confeſs to you both, that, if one reaſon of your people's deſerting us, be the deſpair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one ſyllable to anſwer; becauſe that would be to hope for what is impoſſible; and ſo I have been telling the public theſe ten years. For there are three events which muſt precede any ſuch bleſſing: Firſt, A liberty of trade; ſecondly, A ſhare of preferments in all kinds, equal to the Britiſh natives; and, thirdly, A return of thoſe abſentees, who take away almoſt one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the firſt and ſecond, there is nothing left us but deſpair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to ſend them, for which, in my own particular, I ſhould not be ſorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years ſtanding. But, as to what you object about the ſevere clauſes relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other ſide: For the landlords, either by their ignorance or greedineſs of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter ſo ill, as we ſee, by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and deſolation; the cabbins of the Scotch themſelves, in Ulſter, being as dirty and miſer-

able as thoſe of the wildeſt Iriſh. Whereas good firm penal clauſes for improvement, with a tolerable eaſy rent, and a reaſonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreaſed the rents of Ireland at leaſt a third part in the intrinſic value.

I am glad to hear you ſpeak with ſome decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely miſtake the fact: For I defy the moſt wicked and moſt powerful clergyman in the kingdom, to oppreſs the meaneſt farmer in the pariſh; and I defy the ſame clergyman to prevent himſelf from being cheated by the ſame farmer, whenever the farmer ſhall be diſpoſed to be knaviſh or peeviſh. For although the Ulſter tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the miniſter can demand no more than his tenth; and where the corn much exceeds the ſmall tythes, as, except in ſome diſtricts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every ſtubborn farmer, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſect as well as intereſt incline them to oppoſition. However, I take it that your people, bent for America, do not ſhew the beſt part of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: Yet they are ſo far wiſe as not to make the payment of tythes a ſcruple of conſcience, which is too groſs for any Proteſtant diſſenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think, that if tythes were

were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the landlord after the blessed manner in the Scotch spiritual œconomy, that the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequence—the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurement from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles.

But I was surprized to find, that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For, while I was last year in the northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was let above twenty years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives, and some perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifest,

that our preſent miſerable condition, and the diſmal proſpect of worſe, with other reaſons above aſſigned, are ſufficient to put men upon trying this deſperate experiment of changing the ſcene they are in, although landlords ſhould, by a miracle, become leſs inhuman.

There is hardly a ſcheme propoſed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifeſtly ſhew the ſtupidity and ignorance of the propoſer: And I laugh with contempt at thoſe weak wiſe heads, who proceed upon general maxims, or adviſe us to follow the examples of Holland and England. Theſe empirics talk by rote, without underſtanding the conſtitution of the kingdom; as if a phyſician, knowing that exerciſe contributed much to health, ſhould preſcribe to his patient under a ſevere fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very ſnort and plain: To encourage agriculture and home conſumption, and utterly diſcard all importations which are not abſolutely neceſſary for health or life. And how few neceſſaries, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and induſtry? Are thoſe deteſtable extravagancies of Flanders lace, Engliſh cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian ſilks, tea, coffee, chocolate, China ware, and that profuſion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every ſeaſon, with a hundred unneceſſary fopperies, better known to others than me: Are theſe, I ſay,

fit

fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the higheſt indignity to human nature, that men ſhould be ſuch poltrons as to ſuffer the kingdom and themſelves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonneſs of their wives; who, under their preſent corruptions, ſeem to be a kind of animal, ſuffered, for our ſins, to be ſent into the world for the deſtruction of families, ſocieties, and kingdoms, and whoſe whole ſtudy ſeems directed to be as expenſive as they poſſibly can in every uſeleſs article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the moſt pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleaſure, provided they are but expenſive, as ſtarlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robuſtneſs, by mere practice of ſloth and luxury; who can play deep ſeveral hours after midnight, ſleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poiſons, and ſpend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauſeous, unwholeſome living carcaſe? Let thoſe few, who are not concerned in any part of this accuſation, ſuppoſe it unſaid; let the reſt take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation ſo ſhamefully beſotted.

If I am poſſeſſed of an hundred pounds a-year, and by ſome misfortune it ſinks to fifty, without a poſſibility of ever being retrieved, Does it remain a queſtion, in ſuch an exigency, what I am to do? Muſt not I retrench one half in every article of expence? or retire to ſome cheap,

diſtant part of the country, where neceſſaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can ſhew me, under the circumſtances we ſtand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the deſolation cauſed by abſentees, under many other circumſtances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or ſubſiſt by any other method, than that of a reduced family, by the utmoſt parſimony, in the manner I have already preſcribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreaſonable well-meaning people, who are daily preſſing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have ſo often done in vain. What will it import, that half a ſcore people, in a coffee-houſe, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of thoſe few differ in every ſentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to ſow his corn; if half the little money among us be ſent to pay rents to Iriſh abſentees, and the reſt for foreign luxury, and dreſs for the women; What will our charitable diſpoſitions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? when, contrary to all cuſtom and example, all neceſſaries of life are ſo exorbitant,—when money of all kinds was never known to be ſo ſcarce? So that gentlemen of no contemptible eſtates, are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to ſhew any bounty to the poor.

AN
ANSWER
TO
SEVERAL LETTERS,
SENT ME FROM UNKNOWN HANDS.

Written in 1729.

I AM very well pleaſed with the good opinion you expreſs of me, and wiſh it were any way in my power to anſwer your expectations, for the ſervice of my country. I have carefully read your ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals, which you think ſhould be offered to the parliament. I anſwer, I will aſſure you, that, in another place, I have known very good propoſals rejected with contempt by public aſſemblies, merely becauſe they were offered from without doors; and your's perhaps might have the ſame fate, eſpecially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the leaſt intereſt with one. My printers have been twice proſecuted, to my great expence, on account of diſcourſes I writ for the public

ſervice,

ſervice, without the leaſt reflection on parties or perſons; and the ſucceſs I had in thoſe of the Drapier, was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the firſt hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true, both thoſe envenomed perſecutions were the workmanſhip of a judge, who is now gone to his own place *. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the inſtrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are ſeveral particulars relating to this kingdom, (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wiſhed that the Parliament would take under their conſideration, ſuch as will noways interfere with England, otherwiſe than to its advantage.

The firſt I ſhall mention, is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almoſt every-where ſcandalouſly neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and ſaver of his money, who being poſſeſſed of ſome adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath aſſured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five ſhillings an acre, by which he gets treble intereſt. But, generally ſpeaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable;

* Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed.

deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no ſort of proviſion made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a moſt wretched manner: Whereas the Engliſh are ſo particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles, with leſs inconvenience than one mile here. But, ſince this may be thought too great a reformation, I ſhall only ſpeak of roads for horſes, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third ſmaller than England; yet by ſome natural diſadvantages, it would not bear quite the ſame proportion in value, with the ſame encouragement. However, it hath ſo happened for many years paſt, that it never arrived to above one-eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decreaſe of trade, and increaſe of abſentees, with other circumſtances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at leaſt, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our ſide.

Now, ſuppoſing day-labour to be cheaper by one-half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages, and the deſolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one-eighth part ſo much as thoſe of England, which is a very moderate computation; I do not ſee why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in ſix or ſeven years of the late

King,

King *, for mending long tracts of impaſſable ways in ſeveral counties of England, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving paſſage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reaſon againſt the ſame practice here, ſince the neceſſity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of ſtone and gravel as eaſy to be found, and the workmanſhip at leaſt twice as cheap. Beſides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by ſo many perch a-year; but with a ſpecial care to encourage ſkill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to thoſe of the meaner ſort: But againſt theſe, no doubt, the wiſdom of the nation may and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deſerves the public care, is the ill management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater miſchief to this kingdom than moſt people ſeem to be aware of.

It is allowed, indeed, by thoſe who are eſteemed moſt ſkilful in ſuch matters, that the red ſwelling moſſy bog, whereof we have ſo many large tracts in this iſland, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the ſkirts, which are covered with a green coat, eaſily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moſs, like the other.

Now

* King George the Firſt.

Now the landlords are generally ſo careleſs, that they ſuffer their tenants to cut their turf in theſe ſkirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly loſt a conſiderable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greateſt part of the miſchief: For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural ſoil, yet, by continuing large, deep, ſtraight canals through the middle, cleanſed at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a ſecure ſummer paſture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickens, birch, and other trees proper for ſuch a ſoil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage, of the turf, which is now drawn upon ſled-cars, with great expence, difficulty, and loſs of time, by reaſon of the many turf-pits ſcattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confeſs, to me a matter of the greateſt vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be ſo abſurd as to ſuffer ſuch havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of foreſt-trees, are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great ſubmiſſion, muſt have been owing to a defect of ſkill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the Weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not

planted

planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-ſhelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of theſe laws, I have not ſeen the leaſt, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemen's houſes, and even thoſe with very little ſkill or ſucceſs. In all the reſt, the hedges generally miſcarry, as well as the larger ſlender twigs, planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common ſkill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of aſh, within a few feet aſunder, which in ſeven years would make the beſt kind of hop-poles, and grow in the ſame, or leſs-times to a ſecond crop from their roots.

It would likewiſe be of great uſe and beauty in our deſart ſcenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant aſh or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to deſtroy them.

The common objections againſt all this, drawn from the lazineſs, the perverſeneſs, or thieviſh diſpoſition of the poor native Iriſh, might be eaſily anſwered, by ſhewing the true reaſons for ſuch accuſations, and how eaſily thoſe people may be brought to a leſs ſavage manner of life: But my printers have already ſuffered too much

for my ſpeculations. However, ſuppoſing the ſize of a native's underſtanding juſt equal to that of a dog or horſe, I have often ſeen thoſe two animals to be civilized by rewards, at leaſt as much as by puniſhments.

It would be a noble atchievement to aboliſh the Iriſh language in this kingdom, ſo far at leaſt as to oblige all the natives to ſpeak only Engliſh on every occaſion of buſineſs, in ſhops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived, if this might not be effectually done in leſs than half an age, and at a ry trifling expence; for ſuch I look upon a tax to be, of only ſix thouſand pounds a-year, to accompliſh ſo great a work. This would, in a great meaſure, civilize the moſt barbarous among them, reconcile them to our cuſtoms and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be eſtabliſhed. The method is plain and ſimple; and although I am too deſponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wiſh ſome public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people, from that idle, ſavage, beaſtly, thieviſh manner of life, in which they continue ſunk to a degree, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a country gentleman to find a ſervant of human capacity, or the leaſt tincture of natural honeſty; or who does not live among his own tenants, in continual fear of having his plantation deſtroyed, his cattle ſtolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither ſo many wealthy families; the conſequences thereof, together with the utter loſs of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced ſuch great numbers of weavers and others to ſeek their bread in foreign countries; the unhappy practice of ſtocking ſuch vaſt quantities of land with ſheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: Theſe events, I ſay, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for ſeveral years paſt. I ſhould heartily wiſh, therefore, under this miſerable dearth of money, that thoſe who are moſt concerned would think it adviſeable to ſave a hundred thouſand pounds a-year, which is now ſent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in politics of all wiſe nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wiſdom a practice ſo directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what muſt be the iſſue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it ſhould be thought proper by wiſer heads, that his Majeſty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own uſe; I believe no good ſubject will be under the leaſt apprehenſion, that ſuch a

requeſt

requeſt could meet with refuſal, or the leaſt delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil ſociety, under the proper inſpection of its prince, or legiſlature, to coin money of all uſual metals for its own occaſions. Every petty prince in Germany, vaſſal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have ſeen in this kingdom, ſeveral ſilver pieces, with the inſcription of *Civitas Waterford*, *Droghedagh*, and other towns.

SUBSTANCE of what was ſaid by the DEAN of St PATRICK's, to the LORD MAYOR, and ſome of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordſhip came to preſent the ſaid DEAN with his Freedom in a gold box.

WHEN his Lordſhip had ſaid a few words, and preſented the inſtrument, the Dean gently put it back, and deſired firſt to be heard. He ſaid, He was much obliged to his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: That it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his Lordſhip, or the city: And that the mortification was the leſs, becauſe he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a miſtake; for which opinion he would tell his reaſon. He ſaid it was well known, that, ſome time ago, a perſon with a title was pleaſed, in two great aſſemblies, to rattle bitterly ſome body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, and a libeller of the government; which character, the Dean ſaid that many people thought, was applied to him: But he was unwilling

willing to be of that opinion, becauſe the perſon who had delivered thoſe abuſive words, had for ſeveral years careſſed, and courted and ſolicited his friendſhip, more than any man in either kingdom had ever done: By inviting him to his houſe in town and country, by coming to the Deanry often, and calling or ſending almoſt every day when the Dean was ſick, with many other particulars of the ſame nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the ſaid perſon made thoſe invectives in the Council and Houſe of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think that thoſe ſcurrilous words could be intended againſt him; becauſe ſuch a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, juſtice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the ſaid perſon had ſome other object in his thoughts; and it was only the uncharitable cuſtom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would inſiſt on this argument no longer: But one thing he would affirm and declare, without aſſigning any name, or making any exception, That whoever either did or does, or ſhall hereafter, at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, or a libeller of the government, the ſaid accuſation was, is, and will be falſe, malicious, ſlanderous, and altogether groundleſs. And he would take the freedom to tell his

Lordſhip, and the reſt that ſtood by, that he had done more ſervice to the Hanover title, and more diſſervice to the Pretender's cauſe, than forty thouſand of thoſe noiſy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of uſe to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and ſpitting their venom, againſt all who differ from them in their deſtructive principles both in church and ſtate. That he confeſſed it was ſometimes his misfortune to diſlike ſome things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wiſe and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he proteſted, that ſuch diſlikes never aroſe in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the King, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and miniſters long enough, and knew too well, that the beſt miniſters might miſtake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at leaſt full as honeſt as any can be at preſent. The Dean further ſaid, That ſince he had been ſo falſely repreſented, he thought it became him to give ſome account of himſelf for above twenty years, if it were only to juſtify his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him. He related briefly, how, merely by his own perſonal credit, without other aſſiſtance, and in

two

two journeys at his own expence, he had procured a grant of the firſt fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time; for which he thought he deſerved ſome gentle treatment from his brethren. That during all the adminiſtration of the ſaid miniſtry, he had been a conſtant advocate for thoſe who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in England and here, and ſome who were afterwards the firſt to lift up their heels againſt him. He reflected a little upon the ſevere treatment he had met with upon his return to Ireland after her Majeſty's death, and for ſome years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public ſervice, than by employing all the little money he could ſave, and lending it, without intereſt, in ſmall ſums, to poor induſtrious tradeſmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had ſo far pleaſed to bleſs his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed moſt of them in a comfortable way of life. The Dean related how much he had ſuffered in his purſe, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a moſt iniquitous judge *; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worſe a deſign, than to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures: How the ſaid judge had endeavoured

* See the note vol. III. p. 327.

deavoured to get a jury to his mind; but they proved ſo honeſt, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and ſend them back nine times, until, at laſt, they were compelled to leave the printer * to the mercy of the court. And the Dean was forced to procure a *noli proſequi* from a Noble Perſon, then ſecretary of ſtate, who had been his old friend. The Dean then freely confeſſed himſelf to be author of thoſe called the *Drapier's Letters*, ſpoke gently of the proclamation, offering 300l. to diſcover the writer. He ſaid, That although a certain perſon was pleaſed to mention thoſe books in a ſlight manner at a public aſſembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thouſand to one in the kingdom who differed from that perſon; and the people of England, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in France, were all of the ſame opinion. The Dean mentioned ſeveral other particulars; ſome of which, thoſe from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great conſequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expreſſed his wiſhes, that an inſcription might have been engraven on the box, ſhewing ſome reaſon why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a perſon in a private ſtation; thoſe diſtinctions being uſually made, only to chief governors, or perſons in very high employments.

THOUGHTS

* Harding.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions, to believe according to my own impartial reaſon; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act ſometimes by other men's reaſon, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reaſon fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reaſon.

To ſay a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor ſenſe.

You may force men, by intereſt or puniſhment, to ſay or ſwear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the poſſeſſion of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour, or diſturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth, hath an hundred to one odds, to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption, wherein ſome nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time particular men ſhould be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impoſſible, and the attempt wicked, whether thoſe

opinions

opinions be true or falſe; unleſs your avowed deſign be to aboliſh that religion altogether. So for inſtance, in the famous doctrine of Chriſt's divinity, which hath been univerſally received by all bodies of Chriſtians, ſince the condemnation of Arianiſm under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors: Wherefore, the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; becauſe they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other ſucceſs than breeding doubts and diſturbances in the world. *Qui ratione ſua diſturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed, when it cannot be overcome.

The Chriſtian religion, in the moſt early times, was propoſed to the Jews and Heathens, without the article of Chriſt's divinity; which, I remember, Eraſmus accounts for, by its being too ſtrong a meat for babes. Perhaps if it were now ſoftened by the Chineſe miſſionaries, the converſion of thoſe infidels would be leſs difficult: And we find by the Alcoran, it is the great ſtumbling-block of the Mahometans. But in a country already Chriſtian, to bring ſo fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no conſequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all ſorts leſſen that mercy too much.

I look upon myſelf in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a poſt aſſigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cauſe is juſt, yet one great motion is, my ſubmitting to the pleaſure of providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not anſwerable to God for the doubts that ariſe in my own breaſt, ſince they are the conſequence of that reaſon which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal thoſe doubts from others, if I uſe my beſt endeavours to ſubdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thouſands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodox within the compaſs of ſubtleties, niceties, and diſtinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and leſs from reaſon and good policy.

I never ſaw, heard, or read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Chriſtianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular, but ſome degree of perſecution.

Thoſe fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parſons themſelves, and ſhew us better examples.

Miſerable mortals! Can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God?* I could wiſh that expreſſion were ſtruck out of our prayer-books.

Liberty

Liberty of conſcience, properly ſpeaking, is no more than the liberty of poſſeſſing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magiſtrate: But how far he ſhall publicly act in purſuance of thoſe opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-inſtituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know ſeveral others of the ſame opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I ſhould inſiſt upon liberty of conſcience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government, and condemning what is eſtabliſhed, the magiſtrate would, with great juſtice, hang me, and my diſciples. It is the ſame caſe in religion, altho' not ſo avowed, where liberty of conſcience, under the preſent acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at leaſt convulſions and diſturbances in a ſtate; which politicians would ſee well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction; and of which theſe kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming inſtances. Cromwell's notion upon this article was natural and right: When, upon the ſurrender of a town in Ireland, the Popiſh governor inſiſted upon an article for liberty of conſcience, Cromwell ſaid, he meddled with no man's conſcience; but if, by liberty of conſcience, the governor meant the liberty of the maſs, he had expreſs orders from the parliament of England againſt admitting any ſuch liberty at all.

It is impoſſible that any thing ſo natural, ſo neceſſary, and ſo univerſal as death, ſhould ever have been deſigned by providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reaſon were intended by providence to govern our paſſions, yet it ſeems, that, in two points of the greateſt moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our paſſions to prevail over reaſon. The firſt is, the propagation of our ſpecies, ſince no wiſe man ever married from the dictates of reaſon. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reaſon, every man would deſpiſe, and wiſh it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

THE Scripture-ſyſtem of man's creation, is what Chriſtians are bound to believe, and ſeems moſt agreeable of all others to probability and reaſon. Adam was formed from a piece of clay, and Eve from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beaſts of the field, and birds of the air. As to Eve, it doth not appear that her huſband was her monarch; only ſhe was to be his help-meet, and placed in ſome degree of ſubjection. However, before his fall, the beaſts were his moſt obedient ſubjects, whom he governed by abſolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the courſe of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; ſome were able to eſcape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in Adam over his poſterity who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the firſt was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who, as Milton expreſſeth it, made men, and not beaſts, his prey. For men were eaſier caught by promiſes, and ſubdued by the

the folly or treachery of their own ſpecies: Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or ſtrength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and ſome other animals are ſtrong or valiant, and their ſpecies never degenerates in their native ſoil, except they happen to be enſlaved or deſtroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverſeneſs, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A

PRAYER FOR STELLA.

ALMIGHTY and moſt gracious Lord God! Extend, we beſeech thee, thy pity and compaſſion towards this thy languiſhing ſervant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true ſenſe of the emptineſs and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly ſenſible of all the infirmities of her life paſt, and grant to her ſuch a true ſincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preſerve her, O Lord! in a ſound mind and underſtanding, during this thy viſitation; keep her from both the ſad extremes of preſumption and deſpair. If thou ſhalt pleaſe to reſtore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep thoſe good reſolutions ſhe now makes in her ſickneſs, ſo that no length of time, nor proſperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes diſtract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery, or diſturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beſeech thee alſo, O Lord! of thy infinite goodneſs, to remember the good actions of this thy ſervant; that the naked ſhe hath clothed, the hungry ſhe hath fed, the ſick and the fatherleſs

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whom ſhe hath relieved, may be reckoned according to thy gracious promiſe, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord! to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy ſervant in her behalf, and eſpecially thoſe now made by us unto thee. Give thy bleſſing to thoſe endeavours uſed for her recovery; but take from her all violent deſire, either of life or death, further than with reſignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord! we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the ſenſe of this thy ſervant's weakneſs may add ſtrength to our faith; that we, conſidering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance, before it ſhall pleaſe thee to viſit us in the like manner. Accept theſe prayers, we beſeech Thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord; who, with Thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. Amen.

A SERMON.

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.

IT is remarkable, that about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flouriſhed to a very great degree, inſomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even ſuch who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praiſe and opinion of the wiſdom and virtue of the Gentile ſages of thoſe days, and likewiſe of thoſe antient philoſophers who went before them, whoſe doctrines are left upon record, either by themſelves, or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be ſaid, that the providence of God brought this about for ſeveral very wiſe ends and purpoſes. For it is certain, that theſe philoſophers had been a long time before ſearching out where to fix the true happineſs of man; and not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not poſſibly but conclude, if they judged

judged but impartially, that all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitleſs; the conſequence of which muſt be not only an acknowledgment of the weakneſs of all human wiſdom, but likewiſe an open paſſage hereby made, for the letting in thoſe beams of light, which the glorious ſun-ſhine of the goſpel then brought into the world, by revealing thoſe hidden truths, which they had ſo long before been labouring to diſcover, and fixing the general happineſs of mankind beyond all controverſy and diſpute. And therefore the providence of God wiſely ſuffered men of deep genius and learning then to ariſe, who ſhould ſearch into the truth of the goſpel now made known, and canvaſs its doctrines with all the ſubtilty and knowledge they were maſters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wiſdom only which cometh from above. James iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this obſervation, I doubt not but there is reaſon to think that a great many of thoſe encomiums given to antient philoſophers, are taken upon truſt, and by a ſort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would employ ſo much time and thinking. For the uſual ends why men affect this kind of diſcourſe, appear generally to be either out of oſtentation, that they may paſs upon the world for perſons of great knowledge and obſervation; or, what is worſe, there are ſome who highly exalt

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the wiſdom of thoſe Gentile ſages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more eſpecially that of the Goſpel; for the conſequence they would have us draw, is this: That, ſince thoſe antient philoſophers roſe to a greater pitch of wiſdom and virtue than was ever known among Chriſtians, and all this purely upon the ſtrength of their own reaſon and liberty of thinking, therefore it muſt follow, that either all Revelation is falſe, or, what is worſe, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worſe than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wiſdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low eſteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Phariſees and Sadducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St Paul likewiſe, who was well verſed in all the Grecian literature, ſeems very much to deſpiſe their philoſophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the Coloſſians to beware leſt any man ſpoil them through philoſophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he adviſes Timothy to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience, falſely ſo called; that is, not to introduce into the Chriſtian doctrine the janglings of thoſe vain philoſophers, which they would paſs upon the world for ſcience. And the reaſons he gives are, firſt, That thoſe who profeſſed them, did err concerning the faith:

Secondly,

Secondly, Becauſe the knowledge of them did encreaſe ungodlineſs, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty ſounds; that is, tedious diſputes about words, which the philoſophers were always ſo full of, and which were the natural product of diſputes and diſſentions between ſeveral ſects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philoſophy, as it is manifeſt from ſeveral paſſages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raiſe the reputation of thoſe ſages ſo high, is a mode and a vice but of yeſterday, aſſumed chiefly, as I have ſaid, to diſparage revealed knowledge, and the conſequences of it among us.

Now, becauſe this is a prejudice which may prevail with ſome perſons, ſo far as to leſſen the influence of the goſpel; and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themſelves into the world: I ſhall endeavour to ſhew that their preference of Heathen wiſdom and virtue, before that of the Chriſtian, is every way unjuſt, and grounded upon ignorance or miſtake: In order to which I ſhall conſider four things.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general, fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I ſhall ſhew, in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have

have been grosly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Heathen wise men, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men, that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however have no occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with such aids as we enjoy: But our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The first point I shall mention, was that universal defect which was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind; nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty, to satisfy a reasonable person. For, to say, as the most plausible of them did, that happiness consisted in virtue, was but vain babbling,

bling, and a mere ſound of words, to amuſe others and themſelves: Becauſe they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did conſiſt; and likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral among the beſt of them taught quite different things, placing happineſs in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew when I ſpeak of their particular tenets.

The ſecond great defect in the Gentile philoſophy was, that it wanted ſome ſuitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progreſs in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the ſcore of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: Bodily goods being only ſuitable to bodily wants, are no reſt at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wiſdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is ſo conſtituted, that we can never purſue any thing heartily, but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize, and the greater the prize the faſter we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we underſtand it, and believe it to be ſuch, more than a corruptible one. But ſome of the philoſophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine ſo far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itſelf: Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the

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ſound of the words, it is at leaſt too abſtracted to become an univerſal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general uſe.

It was the want of aſſigning ſome happineſs, proportioned to the ſoul of man, that cauſed many of them, either on one hand, to be ſour and moroſe, ſupercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar purſuits of common men, to hunt after greatneſs and riches, to make their court, and to ſerve occaſions; as Plato did to the younger Dionyſius, and Ariſtotle to Alexander the Great. So impoſſible is it for a man, who looks no further than the preſent world, to fix himſelf long in a contemplation where the preſent world has no part: He has no ſure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he reſts upon, while he has no ſupport beſide for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, ſome other place whereon to ſtand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any ſort of preſent or future hope, cannot be purely greatneſs of ſpirit; there muſt be a mixture in it of affectation, and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world, a notion of rewards and puniſhments in another life; but it ſeems to have rather ſerved as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a ſettled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The laſt cele-

brated words of Socrates, a little before his death, do not ſeem to reckon or build much upon any ſuch opinion; and Cæſar made no ſcruple to diſown it, and ridicule it in open ſenate.

Thirdly, The greateſt and wiſeſt of all their philoſophers, were never able to give any ſatisfaction, to others and themſelves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely groſs and abſurd in their conceptions; and thoſe who made the faireſt conjectures, are ſuch as were generally allowed by the learned to have ſeen the ſyſtem of Moſes, if I may ſo call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by Diodorus, Juſtin, Longinus, and other authors: For the reſt, the wiſeſt among them laid aſide all notions after a Deity, as a diſquiſition vain and fruitleſs, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and thoſe who ventured to engage too far, fell into incoherence and confuſion.

Fourthly, Thoſe among them who had the juſteſt conceptions of a Divine power, and did alſo admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either: they truſted in themſelves for all things: But, as for a truſt or dependence upon God, they would not have underſtood the phraſe; it made no part of the prophane ſtyle.

Therefore it was, that, in all iſſues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own ſentiments of reaſon and juſtice, they were quite

diſconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverſe fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grow ſullen and ſevere, or elſe yielded and ſunk like other men.

HAVING now produced certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy fell ſhort, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the ſecond place, to ſhew, in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic ſect, ſo celebrated for morality, being aſked how a man might bear ill fortune with greateſt eaſe, anſwered, "By ſeeing his enemies in a worſe condi-"tion." An anſwer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included ſuch conſequences as muſt deſtroy all ſociety from the world.

Solon lamenting the death of a ſon, one told him, "You lament in vain:" "Therefore (ſaid he) I lament, becauſe it is in vain." This was a plain confeſſion how imperfect all his philoſophy was, and that ſomething was ſtill wanting. He owned, that all his wiſdom and morals were uſeleſs, and this upon one of the moſt frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to ſupport himſelf even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of

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religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath inſtructed his diſciples? Plato himſelf, with all his refinements, placed happineſs in wiſdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held, that they who enjoy all theſe, were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy its owner, leaving the wiſe and the good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miſerable without reſource.

His ſcholar, Ariſtotle, fell more groſsly into the ſame notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not ſufficient for happineſs; but that a wiſe man muſt be miſerable in poverty and ſickneſs. Nay, Diogenes himſelf, from whoſe pride and ſingularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the moſt miſerable thing in life.

Zeno alſo, and his followers, fell into many abſurdities; among which nothing could be greater, than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, inſtead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Laſtly, Epicurus had no notion of juſtice, but as it was profitable; and his placing happineſs in pleaſure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleaſure did conſiſt in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or aſcertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he miſled his follow-

ers into the greateſt vices, making their names to become odious and ſcandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced theſe few inſtances from a great many others, to ſhew the imperfection of Heathen philoſophy, wherein I have confined myſelf wholly to their morality. And ſurely we may pronounce upon it, in the words of St James, That *this wiſdom deſcended not from above, but was earthly and ſenſual.* What if I had produced their abſurd notions about God and the ſoul? It would then have completed the character given it by that Apoſtle, and appeared to have been deviliſh too. But it is eaſy to obſerve, from the nature of theſe few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a ſupport by revelation from God.

I proceed, therefore, in the third place, to ſhew the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom from above; and I ſhall endeavour to make it appear, from thoſe proper characters and marks of it by the Apoſtle before mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verſes.

The words run thus:

This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above; but is earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh.

For where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion, and every evil work.

But the wiſdom that is from above, is firſt pure; then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated; full of

of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy.

The wiſdom from above is firſt pure. This purity of the mind and ſpirit is peculiar to the Goſpel. Our Saviour ſays, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God.* A mind free from all pollution of luſts, ſhall have a daily viſion of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unſpotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holineſs, and righteouſneſs, far beyond the examples of the moſt celebrated philoſophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated.* The Chriſtian doctrine teacheth us all thoſe diſpoſitions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any moroſe leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the compoſition of moſt Heathen ſchemes: So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's laſt legacy, was peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto ſeventy times ſeven. Chriſtian wiſdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely ſhort. Plato indeed (and it is worth obſerving) has ſomewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the higheſt ſtrain ever reached by man, without Divine aſſiſtance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us;*

to bleſs them that curſe us; and do good to them that deſpitefully uſe us.

Chriſtian wiſdom is *without partiality.* It is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: Not to the philoſophical ſchemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or ſects; but, in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.

Laſtly, It is *without hypocriſy.* It appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the Goſpel we are ſo far from being allowed to publiſh to the world thoſe virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourſelves, thoſe we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does: unlike ſeveral branches of the Heathen wiſdom, which pretended to teach inſenſibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the ſame time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the laſt place, to ſhew that the great examples of wiſdom and virtue among the Grecian ſages, were produced by perſonal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues moſt celebrated by antient moraliſts, were fortitude and temperance, as relating

lating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their ſchemes were generally addreſſed and confined; and the two inſtances wherein thoſe virtues arrived at the greateſt height, were Socrates and Cato. But neither thoſe, nor any other virtues poſſeſſed by theſe two, were at all owing to any leſſons or doctrines of a ſect. For Socrates himſelf was of none at all; and although Cato was called a Stoick, it was more from a reſemblance of manners in his worſt qualities, than that he avowed himſelf one of their diſciples. The ſame may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that thoſe who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural diſpoſitions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any ſect they pretended to follow.

On the other ſide, As the examples of fortitude and patience among the primitive Chriſtians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, ſo they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were ſuch as the ſame perſons, without thoſe aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth moſt of the Apoſtles, with many thouſand martyrs, are a cloud of witneſſes beyond exception. Having therefore ſpoken ſo largely upon the former heads, I ſhall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it ſhould here be objected, Why does not Chriſtianity ſtill produce the ſame effects? it

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is eaſy to anſwer, firſt, That although the number of pretended Chriſtians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never ſo ſmall; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, we may anſwer, That Chriſtianity itſelf has very much ſuffered, by being blended up with Gentile philoſophy. The Platonic ſyſtem, firſt taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for ſome early hereſies in the church. When diſputes began to ariſe, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as beſt fitted for controverſy. And however this may now have become neceſſary, it was ſurely the author of a litigious vein, which has ſince occaſioned very pernicious conſequences, ſtopt the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that ſentence given by St James, and mentioned before, *Where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion and every evil work.* This was the fatal ſtop to the Grecians, in their progreſs both of arts and arms: Their wiſe men were divided under ſeveral ſects, and their governments under ſeveral commonwealths, all in oppoſition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themſelves, while they ſhould have been armed againſt the common enemy. And I wiſh we had no other examples from the like cauſes, leſs foreign or antient than that. Diogenes, ſaid Socrates, was a madman; the

the diſciples of Zeno and Epicurus, nay of Plato and Ariſtotle, were engaged in fierce diſputes about the moſt inſignificant trifles. And, if this be the preſent language and practice among us Chriſtians, no wonder that Chriſtianity does not ſtill produce the ſame effects which it did at firſt, when it was received and embraced in its utmoſt purity and perfection. For ſuch a wiſdom as this cannot *deſcend from above*, but muſt be *earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh; full of confuſion, and every evil work:* Whereas *the wiſdom from above, is firſt pure; then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy.* This is the true heavenly wiſdom, which Chriſtianity only can boaſt of, and which the greateſt of the Heathen wiſe men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, *&c. &c.*

TO

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, &c.

The Humble REPRESENTATION of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, JAN. 1724.

YOUR Grace having been pleaſed to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patents, for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whoſe houſe in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having deſired us to conſider of the ſaid brief, and give our opinion thereof to your Grace:

We the clergy of the City of Dublin, in compliance with your Grace's deſire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderneſs towards us, having maturely conſidered the ſaid brief by letters-patents, compared the ſeveral parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and conſulted perſons ſkilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourſelves, and of the reſt of our brethren, the clergy of the dioceſe of Dublin, moſt humbly repreſent to your Grace,

Firſt,

Firſt, That, by this brief, your Grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parſons, vicars, &c. to advance ſo great an act of charity.

We ſhall not preſume to determine how far your Grace may be commanded by the ſaid brief: But we humbly conceive, that the clergy of your dioceſe cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your Grace to advance the ſaid act of charity, any other ways than by reading the ſaid brief in our ſeveral churches, as preſcribed by the rubric.

Secondly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſons, vicars, &c. upon the firſt Lord's day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the ſaid brief, ſhall, deliberately and affectionately, publiſh and declare the tenor thereof to his Majeſty's ſubjects; and earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the ſaid ſufferer.

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's day, or ſome ſolemn days legally appointed; neither is it poſſible for the ſtrongeſt conſtitution among us, to obey this command (which includes no leſs than a whole ſermon) upon any other opportunity, than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every houſe where the pariſhes are very populous, conſiſting ſometimes here

here in town of 900 or 1000 houſes, would take up the ſpace of a year, although we ſhould preach in two families every day; and almoſt as much time in the country, where the pariſhes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that theſe exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's day, we are humbly of opinion, That it is left to the diſcretion of the clergy, to chuſe what ſubjects they think moſt proper to preach on, and at what times; and, if they preach either falſe doctrine, or ſeditious principles, they are liable to be puniſhed.

It may poſſibly happen, that the ſufferer recommended may be a perſon not deſerving the favour intended by the brief; in which caſe no miniſter, who knows the ſufferer to be an undeſerving perſon, can, with a ſafe conſcience, deliberately and affectionately publiſh the brief; much leſs earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of ſuch a ſufferer *.

Thirdly, Whereas in the ſaid brief the miniſters and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from houſe to houſe, with their

* This M'Carthy's houſe was burnt in the month of Auguſt 1723; and the univerſal opinion of mankind was, that MacCarthy himſelf was the perſon who had ſet fire to the houſe.

church-wardens, to aſk and receive from all perſons the ſaid charity. We cannot but obſerve here, that the ſaid miniſters are directly made collectors of the ſaid charity, in conjunction with the church-wardens; which, however, we preſume, was not intended, as being againſt all law and precedent: And therefore, we apprehend, there may be ſome inconſiſtency, which leaves us at a loſs how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the miniſters and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure ſome others of the chief inhabitants, to do the ſame. And, in the following paragraph, the whole work ſeems left entirely to the church-wardens, who are required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to gather and collect the ſaid charity, and to pay the ſame in ten days after, to the parſon, vicar, *&c.*

In anſwer to this, we do repreſent to your Grace our humble opinion, That neither we, nor our church-wardens, can be legally commanded or required to go from houſe to houſe to receive the ſaid charity; becauſe your Grace hath informed us in your order, at your viſitation *An. Dom.* 1712, that neither we, nor our church-wardens, are bound to make any collection for the poor, ſave in the church; which alſo appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your Grace hath obſerved in your ſaid order.

We do likewiſe aſſure your Grace, that it is not in our power to procure ſome of the chief

inhabitants of our pariſhes, to accompany the church-wardens from houſe to houſe in theſe collections: And we have reaſon to believe, that ſuch a propoſal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often Peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own ſatisfaction, or to the advantage of the ſaid collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the biſhops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions diſtinctly, to be returned in the ſeveral provinces to the ſeveral archbiſhops of the ſame.

Upon which we take leave to obſerve, that the terms of expreſſion here, are of the ſtrongeſt kind, and in a point that may ſubject the ſaid dignitaries (for we ſhall ſay nothing of the biſhops) to great inconveniencies.

The ſaid dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions diſtinctly; by which it ſhould ſeem that they are abſolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *diſtinctly* is but a circumſtance), and may be underſtood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful, contribution. And therefore, if any biſhop or dignitary ſhould refuſe to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reaſons) he may be thought to incur the crime of diſobedience to his Majeſty, which all good ſubjects abhor, when ſuch a command is according to law.

Moſt

Moſt dignities of this kingdom conſiſt only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are miniſters of pariſhes. A doubt may therefore ariſe, whether the ſaid dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, diſtinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parſons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the pooreſt kind of benefices; and it ſhould ſeem hard to put poor dignitaries under the neceſſity, either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of expoſing themſelves to the cenſure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doeth*; which cannot well conſiſt with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is preſcribed, to publiſh our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, That the parſon, vicar, *&c.* of every pariſh, ſhall, in ſix days after the receipt of the ſaid charity, return it to his reſpective chancellor, *&c.* This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the ſaid parſon, in remote and deſolate parts of the country, where often an honeſt meſſenger (if ſuch a one can be got) muſt be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably coſt more than the value of the contri-

bution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs ſhould happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We obſerve in the ſaid brief, that the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, judges, officers of the courts, and profeſſors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions; but that ſo good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his Majeſty's ſubjects are equally obliged, with or without his Majeſty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their eccleſiaſtical capacity, are only liable to ſuch commands as the rubric, or any other law ſhall enjoin, being born to the ſame privileges of freedom with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

We cannot but obſerve to your Grace, that in the Engliſh act of the fourth year of Queen Anne, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters-patent, *&c.* the miniſters are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from houſe to houſe with the church-wardens, nor to ſend the money collected to their reſpective chancellors, but to pay it to the undertaker or agent of the ſufferer: So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom ſhall not, without any law in being, be put

to

to greater hardſhips in this caſe than their brethren in England, where the legiſlature, intending to prevent the abuſes in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of thoſe difficulties we now complain of, in the preſent brief by letters-patent, for the relief of Charles M'Carthy aforeſaid.

The collections upon the Lord's day are the principal ſupport of our own numerous poor in our ſeveral pariſhes; and therefore every ſingle brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, muſt deprive ſeveral thouſands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the ſake only of one perſon, who often becomes a ſufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is ſure to overvalue his loſſes double or treble: So that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the preſent brief ſhould ſucceed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two perſons, whereof not one in ten is deſerving, and for the intereſt of a dozen dextrous clerks and ſecretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to ſtarve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the Lord Primate, in preparing the report of his Grace's opinion, nor thoſe of the great ſeal, in paſſing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a conſiderable ſum: And thus the good intentions of well-diſpoſed people are in a great meaſure diſappointed, a large part of their charity

being anticipated, and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Laſtly, We cannot but repreſent to your Grace our great concern and grief, to ſee the pains and labour of our church-wardens ſo much encreaſed, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great diſadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loſs of time; to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-houſe, which they bear with great unwillingneſs; and if they ſhall find themſelves further laden with ſuch briefs as this of M'Carthy, it will prove ſo great a diſcouragement, that we ſhall never be able to provide honeſt and ſufficient perſons for that weighty office of church-warden, ſo neceſſary to the laity, as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulations of pariſhes.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, we humbly hope that your Grace, of whoſe fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderneſs, we have had ſo many and great inſtances, will repreſent our caſe to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, or to the Chief Governor in this kingdom, in ſuch a manner, that we may be neither under the neceſſity of declining his Majeſty's command in his letters-patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourſelves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubric, nor any other law in force, oblige us to ſubmit.

AN ANSWER TO BICKERSTAFF.

Some REFLECTIONS upon Mr Bickerſtaff's Predictions for the year 1708 *,

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not obſerved, for ſome years paſt, any inſignificant paper to have made more noiſe, or be more greedily bought, than that of theſe predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amuſement for the better ſort, and a jeſt only to the wiſe; yet, among theſe laſt, I have heard ſome very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himſelf. Whoever he was, he ſeems to have with great art adjuſted his paper, both to pleaſe the rabble, and to entertain perſons of condition. The writer is, without queſtion, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece ſeems haſtily written in a ſudden frolic, with the ſcornful thought of the pleaſure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: Nor do I doubt, but he, and his friends in

* See vol. vi. p. 10.

in the ſecret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thouſand fools they have already made. And he has them faſt for ſome time: For ſo they are like to continue, until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay it is a great queſtion, whether the miſcarriage of the two or three firſt will ſo entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accompliſhing of the reſt. I doubt not but ſome thouſands of theſe papers are carefully preſerved by as many perſons, to confront with the events, and try whether the aſtrologer exactly keeps the day and the hour. And theſe I take to be Mr Bickerſtaff's choiceſt cullies, for whoſe ſake chiefly he writ his amuſement. Meanwhile he has ſeven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in ſuſpenſe; for it is ſo long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the firſt prediction: And, if that fellow happens to be a ſplenetic viſionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophecy may punctually come to paſs by very natural means; as a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill uſed by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a ſlow poiſon into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earneſt to languiſh and decay, by the mere ſtrength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before

the

the jeſt went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully raiſe Mr Bickerſtaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France, whether the Cardinal de Noailles were dead or alive upon the fourth of April, which is the ſecond of his predictions.

For a piece ſo careleſsly written, the obſervations upon aſtrology are reaſonable and pertinent, the remarks juſt; and, as the paper is partly deſigned, in my opinion, for a ſatire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, ſo it is no more than what we all of us deſerve. And, ſince we muſt be teazed with perpetual hawkers of *ſtrange and wonderful* things, I am glad to ſee a man of ſenſe find leiſure and humour to take up the trade for his and our diverſion. To ſpeak in the town phraſe, it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jeſt, and may be ſatisfied.

I very much approve the ſerious air he gives himſelf in his introduction and concluſion, which has gone far to give ſome people of no mean rank an opinion that the author believes himſelf. He tells us, " He places the whole credit of his " art on the truth of theſe predictions, and will " be content to be hooted by Partridge and the " reſt for a cheat, if he fails in any one parti- " cular :" with ſeveral other ſtrains of the ſame kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether *Iſaac Bickerſtaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But it ſeems, altho'

he

he has joined an odd ſirname to no very common Chriſtian one, that, in this large town, there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no ſmall mortification to this gentleman aſtrologer, as well as his bookſeller, to find their piece, which they ſent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately ſeized on by three or four interloping printers of Grub-ſtreet, the title ſtuffed with an abſtract of the whole matter, together with the ſtandard epithets of *ſtrange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior claſs, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny a piece.* But, *Sic cecidit Phaeton:* And, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the ſame fate: To-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys* and *wenches in ſtraw hats*, and I muſt an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to ſale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worſe, my acquaintance in the coffee-houſe will aſk me whether I have ſeen the anſwer to 'Squire Bickerſtaff's predictions, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: And how to keep a man's countenance in ſuch a juncture, is no eaſy point of conduct. When, in this caſe, you ſee a man ſhy either in praiſing or condemning, ready to turn off the diſcourſe to another ſubject, ſtanding as little in the light as he can, to hide his

bluſhing

bluſhing, pretending to ſneeze or take ſnuff, or go off as if ſudden buſineſs called him; then ply him cloſe, obſerve his looks narrowly, ſee whether his ſpeech be conſtrained or affected; then charge him ſuddenly, or whiſper and ſmile, and you will ſoon diſcover whether he be guilty. Although this ſeem not to the purpoſe I am diſcourſing on, yet I think it to be ſo; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of Bickerſtaff's Predictions, and did not meet with him ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe at Covent-Garden.

As to the matter of the Predictions themſelves, I ſhall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr Partridge, to take them into his conſideration, and lay as many errors in aſtrology as poſſible to Mr Bickerſtaff's account. He may juſtly, I think, challenge the 'Squire to publiſh the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which he ſo determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr Bickerſtaff can do no leſs in honour, than give Mr Partridge the ſame advantage of calculating *his*, by ſending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars neceſſary for ſuch a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the diſpute, and take part on each ſide according as they are inclined.

I ſhould likewiſe adviſe Mr Partridge to enquire, why Mr Bickerſtaff does not ſo much as offer

offer at one prediction to be fulfilled, until two months after the time of publiſhing his paper? This looks a little ſuſpicious, as if he were deſirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, elſe it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which is not ſo fair dealing as we have, even from Mr Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions, (ſuch as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one paſſage in Mr Bickerſtaff's paper, that ſeems to be as high a ſtrain of aſſurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of June, which relates to the French Prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly diſperſe, by ſeeing "the time come wherein their prophecies ſhould "be fulfilled, and then finding themſelves de-"ceived by contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reaſon, "his wonder how any "deceiver can be ſo weak, to foretell things near "at hand, when a very few months muſt diſco-"ver the impoſture to all the world." This is ſpoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedneſs, as if he would have us think himſelf to be not under the leaſt apprehenſion, that the ſame in two months will be his own caſe. With reſpect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of ſo refined and pleaſant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not reſent as an uncivil word, becauſe I am ſure I

enter into his taſte, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deſerves a reprimand for writing with ſo much ſcorn and contempt, for the underſtandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us of "a General, who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputation he loſt by former misfortunes." This is commonly underſtood to be Lord Galloway; who, if he be already dead, as ſome News-papers have it, Mr Bickerſtaff has made a trip. But this I do not much inſiſt on; for it is hard if *another General* cannot be found under the *ſame circumſtances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French King's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at Marli, where he never goes at that ſeaſon of the year, as I obſerved myſelf during three years I paſſed in that kingdom: And, diſcourſing ſome months ago with Monſieur Tallard, about the French court, I find that the King never goes to Marli for any time, but about the ſeaſon of hunting there, which is not till Auguſt. So that here was an unlucky ſlip of Mr Bickerſtaff, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with reſuming his promiſe of publiſhing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other aſtrologers need not be in very much pain. I ſuppoſe we ſhall have them much about the ſame time with *The general Hiſtory of Ears*. I believe we have done with him

for ever in this kind; and, although I am no aſtrologer, may venture to prophecy that Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; is now dead, and died juſt at the time his predictions were ready for the preſs: That he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will one day or other, perhaps, deſcend a ſecond time, when he has ſome new, agreeable, or amuſing whimſy to paſs upon the town; wherein it is very probable, he will ſucceed as often as he is diſpoſed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preſerve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's underſtandings, and is reſolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

HINTS

HINTS ON GOOD MANNERS.

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reaſonable perſon in the company eaſy, and to be eaſy ourſelves.

What paſſeth for good manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many perſons of both ſexes, whom I have known, and who paſſed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the moſt troubleſome in company to others and themſelves.

Nothing is ſo great an inſtance of ill manners, as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you pleaſe none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the reſt.

Flattery is the worſt, and falſeſt way of ſhewing your eſteem.

Where company meets, I am confident, the few reaſonable perſons are every minute tempted to curſe the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be moſt diſtinguiſhed for their good nature.

A man of ſenſe would rather faſt till night, than dine at ſome tables, where the lady of the houſe is poſſeſſed with good manners; uneaſineſs, preſſing to eat, teazing with civility leſs practiſed in England than here.

Courts are the worſt of all ſchools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dreſs, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good underſtanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occaſion.

To ſpeak in ſuch a manner as may poſſibly offend any reaſonable perſon in company, is the higheſt inſtance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly conſiſt in action, not in words. Modeſty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two laſt but for a ſhort time; and, whatever good manners or politeneſs I obſerved in any of them, was not of the court growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen-uſhers, bed-chamber-women, maids of honour, * * * * * * *

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Of good manners as to converſation.

Men of wit and good underſtanding, as well as breeding, are ſometimes deceived, and give offence, by conceiving a better opinion of thoſe with whom they converſe than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the moſt innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praiſe, to be miſtaken for abuſe and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to ſuffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long-talkers, who are abſent in company, interrupters, not liſteners, loud laughers.

Of

Of thoſe men and women whoſe face is ever in a ſmile, talk ever with a ſmile, condole with a ſmile, &c.

Argument, as uſually managed, is the worſt ſort of converſation, as it is generally in books the worſt ſort of reading.

Good converſation is not to be expected in much company, becauſe few liſten, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are diſcovered, let the company be ever ſo large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of converſation. It is done to ſupport a character: It generally fails: It is a ſort of inſult on the company, and a conſtraint upon the ſpeaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or buſineſs, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakneſs. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * *

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RESOLUTIONS,

WHEN I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the year 1699.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unleſs they really deſire it.

Not to be peeviſh, or moroſe, or ſuſpicious.

Not to ſcorn preſent ways, or wits, or faſhions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the ſame ſtory over and over to the ſame people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency or cleanlineſs, for fear of falling into naſtineſs.

Not to be over ſevere with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weakneſſes.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to knaviſh tattling ſervants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but thoſe who deſire it.

To desire some good friends to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opinionative.

Not to set up for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

LAWS

LAWS

FOR THE

DEAN'S SERVANTS.

DECEMBER 7th, 1733.

IF either of the two men ſervants be drunk, he ſhall pay an Engliſh crown out of his wages for the ſaid offence, by giving the Dean a receipt for ſo much wages received.

When the Dean is at home, no ſervant ſhall preſume to be abſent, without giving notice to the Dean, and aſking leave, upon the forfeiture of ſixpence for every half-hour that he is abſent, to be ſtopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean is abroad, no ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to leave the houſe for above one half hour; after which, for every half-hour's abſence he ſhall forfeit ſixpence: And, if the other ſervant goes out before the firſt returns, he ſhall pay five ſhillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever ſervant ſhall be taken in a manifeſt lie, ſhall forfeit one ſhilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean goes about the houſe, or out-houſes, or garden, or to Naboth's Vineyard, whatever

whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any ſervant under whoſe care it was, that ſervant ſhall forfeit ſixpence, and ſee to get it mended as ſoon as poſſible, or ſuffer more forfeitures at the Dean's diſcretion.

If two ſervants be abroad together when the Dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the Dean, the concealer ſhall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two ſervants be out of the room together, without orders, the laſt who went out ſhall forfeit three-pence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the Dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the ſame penalty with the men: But provided the two men-ſervants keep the houſe until ſhe returns; otherwiſe either of the ſervants, who goes out before her return, ſhall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the Dean ſhall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his ſervants, and forfeitures for neglect or diſobedience, all the ſervants ſhall be bound to ſubmit to.

Whatever other ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to be drunk, the other two ſervants ſhall inform the Dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, beſides the forfeiture of a crown from the ſaid ſervant who was drunk.

A QUAKER'S LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA, TO JONATHAN SWIFT IN DUBLIN.

Chilad, March 29, 1729.

Friend Jonathan Swift,

HAVING been often agreeably amuſed by thy Tale, *&c. &c.* and being now loading a ſmall ſhip for Dublin, I have ſent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of America; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, ſince it is only deſigned to let thee know, that thy wit and parts are in eſteem at this diſtance from the place of thy reſidence. Thou need aſk no queſtions who this comes from, ſince I am a perfect ſtranger to thee.

CHA-

CHARACTER OF MRS H****D.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1727.

I SHALL ſay nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all perſons who can judge of either, when they hear or ſee her. Beſides, beauty being tranſient, and a trifle, cannot juſtly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, becauſe it will be of no uſe in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither ſhall I relate any part of her hiſtory; further than, that ſhe went, in the prime of her youth, to the Court of Hanover with her huſband, and became of the Bed-chamber to the preſent Princeſs of Wales, living in expectation of the Queen's * death. Upon which event ſhe came over with her Miſtreſs, and hath ever ſince continued in her ſervice; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the miniſters, and all expectants, ſhe is reckoned much the greateſt favourite of the court at Leiceſter-houſe: A ſituation which ſhe hath long affected to deſire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and diſpoſitions of things and perſons at St James's, nor can form his language

* Queen Anne.

language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the preſent poſture of a court, or more early foreſee what ſtyle may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof ſhe can gather early intelligence without aſking it, and often when even thoſe from whom ſhe hath it are not ſenſible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her ſagacity. Sir Robert Walpole, and ſhe, both think they underſtand each other, and are both equally miſtaken.

With perſons where ſhe is to manage, ſhe is very dextrous in that point of ſkill which the French call *tâter le pavè;* with others ſhe is a great vindicator of all preſent proceedings, but in ſuch a manner, as if ſhe were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwiſe. And the danger is, that ſhe may come in time to believe herſelf; which, under a change of princes, and a great addition of credit, might have bad conſequences. She is a moſt unconſcionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which ſhe gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, ſhe gets ten thouſand from them behind her back, which are of real ſervice to her character. The credit ſhe hath is managed with the utmoſt thrift; and, whenever ſhe employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon ſuch occaſions, where ſhe is ſure to get much more than ſhe ſpends. For inſtance, ſhe would readily preſs Sir Robert Walpole to do

ſome favour for Colonel Churchill, or Doddington; the Prince, for a mark of grace to Mr Schutz; and the Princeſs, to be kind to Mrs Clayton. She ſometimes falls into the general miſtake of all courtiers, which is that of not ſuiting her talents to the abilities of others; but thinking thoſe ſhe deals with, to have leſs art than they really poſſeſs: So that ſhe may poſſibly be deceived, when ſhe thinks ſhe deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except thoſe of a courtier, ſhe acts with juſtice, generoſity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private perſon; and I would almoſt think in charity, that ſhe will not do harm as a courtier, unleſs to pleaſe thoſe in chief power.

In religion, ſhe is at leaſt a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Freethinkers; and herein ſhe is the more blameable, becauſe ſhe hath too much morality to ſtand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to ſalvation. I ſpeak this of her as a private Lady, not as a Court-favourite; for, in the latter capacity, ſhe can ſhew neither faith nor works.

If ſhe had never ſeen a court, it is not impoſſible that ſhe might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words, and expreſſions of good wiſhes, and will concert a hundred ſchemes for the ſervice of thoſe whom ſhe would be thought to favour: Schemes that ſometimes ariſe from them, and ſometimes from herſelf;

although, at the ſame time, ſhe very well knows them to be without the leaſt probability of ſucceeding. But, to do her juſtice, ſhe never feeds or deceives any perſon with promiſes, where ſhe doth not at the ſame time intend a degree of ſincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the beſt accompliſhments, who have nothing to deſire or expect.

What part ſhe may act hereafter in a large ſphere, as Lady of the Bed-chamber to a great Q——n, (upon ſuppoſing the death of his preſent Majeſty *, and of the Earl of Suffolk, to whoſe title her huſband ſucceeds) and in high eſteem with a K—g, neither ſhe nor I can foretell. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will ſpread, enlarge, and multiply to ſuch a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean, (like cloaths in a cheſt), to be uſed and put on, whenever ſatiety, or ſome reverſe of fortune, or increaſe of ill health, (to which laſt ſhe is ſubject) ſhall diſpoſe her to retire. In the mean time, it will be her wiſdom to take care, that they may not be tarniſhed or moth-eaten, for want of airing, and turning, at leaſt once a-year.

CHA-

* George the Firſt.

CHARACTER of Dr SHERIDAN.

Written in the year 1738.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at Rathfarnham, the tenth of October 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: His diſeaſes were a dropſy and aſthma. He was doubtleſs the beſt inſtructor of youth in theſe kingdoms, or perhaps in Europe; and as great a maſter of the Greek and Roman languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His Engliſh verſes were full of wit and humour, but neither his proſe nor verſe ſufficiently correct: However, he would readily ſubmit to any friend, who had a true taſte in proſe or verſe. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in ſeveral volumes, of ſtories, humourous, witty, wiſe, or ſome way uſeful, gathered from a vaſt number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh writers. I believe I may have ſeen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But, among thoſe extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in ſix, at leaſt, were of little uſe or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently the caſe in men of wit and learning) what the French call a *Dupe*, and in a

very high degree. The greateſt dunce of a tradeſman could impoſe upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief ſhining quality, was that of a ſchool-maſter; here he ſhone in his proper element. He had ſo much ſkill and practice in the phyſiognomy of boys, that he rarely miſtook at the firſt view. His ſcholars loved and feared him. He often rather choſe to ſhame the ſtupid, but puniſh the idle, and expoſed them to all the lads, which was more ſevere than laſhing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any ſhare of education, the ſcholars of Dr Sheridan infinitely excell, in number and knowledge, all their brethren ſent from other ſchools.

To look on the Doctor in ſome other lights, he was in many things very indiſcreet, to ſay no worſe. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haſte to be married when very young; and from hence proceeded all the miſeries of his life. The portion he got, proved to be juſt the reverſe of 500l. for he was poorer by a thouſand: So many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to ſupport for many years. Inſtead of breeding up his daughters to houſewifery and plain cloaths, he got them, at a great expence, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to ſing and dance, to draw and deſign, to give them rich ſilks, and other fopperies; and his two eldeſt were married without his conſent,

to

to young lads who had nothing to ſettle on them. However, he had one ſon, whom the Doctor ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of; upon examination, although a mere ſtranger, he was by pure merit elected a King's ſcholar. It is true, their maintenance falls ſomething ſhort: The Doctor was then ſo poor, that he could not add fourteen pounds to enable the boy to finiſh the year; which if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher claſs, and, in another year, would have been ſped off (that is the phraſe) to a Fellowſhip in Oxford or Cambridge: But the Doctor was forced to recall him to Dublin, and had friends in our univerſity to ſend him there, where he hath been choſen of the foundation, and, I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and deſigns to ſtand for a Fellowſhip.

The Doctor had a good church-living in the ſouth parts of Ireland, given him by Lord Carteret; who, being very learned himſelf, encourageth it in others. A friend of the Doctor's prevailed on his Excellency to grant it. The living was well worth 150l. *per annum*. He changed it very ſoon for that of Dunboyn; which, by the knavery of the farmers, and power of the gentlemen, fell ſo very low, that he could never get 80l. He then changed that living for the free-ſchool of Cavan, where he might have lived well, in ſo cheap a country, on 80l. ſalary *per annum*, beſides his ſcholars: But the air, he ſaid,

was too moiſt and unwholeſome, and he could not bear the company of ſome perſons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he ſold the ſchool for about 400l.—ſpent the money, grew into diſeaſes, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as juſt, in thoſe many perſons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under Doctor Sheridan, if they would pleaſe to erect ſome decent monument over his body, in the church where it is depoſited.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND SOLOMON*.

Written in the year 1729.

HE became acquainted with a perſon diſtinguiſhed for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent ſtation, who treated him with great kindneſs on all occaſions; and he became familiar in this perſon's houſe †. In three months time, Solomon, without the leaſt provocation, writ a long poem, deſcribing that perſon's muſe to be dead, and making a funeral ſolemnity with aſſes, owls, &c. and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a moſt deſerving lady, an intimate friend of the above perſon ‡, who entertained him alſo as ſhe would do a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice, in the moſt decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, She was like other women, as bad as ſhe was, and that they were all alike; altho' his wife be, in every regard, except

* Dr Sheridan. † Dean Swift. ‡ Stella.

cept gallantry, (which no creature would attempt) the moſt diſagreeable beaſt in Europe.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as ſhe deſerves) govern, inſult, and ruin him, as ſhe pleaſes. Her character is this: Her perſon is deteſtably diſagreeable; a moſt filthy ſlut; lazy, and ſlothful, and luxurious; ill-natured, envious, ſuſpicious; a ſcold, expenſive on herſelf, covetous to others: She takes thieves and whores, for cheapneſs, to be her ſervants, and turns them off every week: Poſitive, inſolent, an ignorant, pratting, overweening fool; a lover of the dirtieſt meaneſt company; an abominable tattler, affecting to be jealous of her huſband with ladies of the beſt rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill deſign upon any perſon but himſelf, and he is the greateſt deceiver of himſelf on all occaſions.

His thoughts are ſudden, and the moſt unreaſonable always comes uppermoſt; and he conſtantly reſolves and acts upon his firſt thoughts; and then aſks advice, but never once before.

The perſon above mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the Lord Lieutenant: Upon going down to take poſſeſſion, Solomon preached, at Corke, a ſermon on King George's birth-day, on this text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.* Solomon having been famous for a high Tory, and ſuſpected as a Jacobite, it was a moſt difficult thing to get any

thing

thing for him: But that perſon being an old friend of Lord Carteret, prevailed againſt all Solomon's enemies, and got him made likewiſe one of his Excellency's chaplains. But, upon this ſermon, he was ſtruck out of the liſt, and forbid the Caſtle, until that ſame perſon brought him again to the Lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy ſprung in Solomon's head, that a houſe near Dublin would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on Saturdays and Sundays: Immediately, without conſulting with any creature, he takes a leaſe of a rotten houſe at Rathfarnham, the worſt air in Ireland, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year; the land, which was only a ſtrip of ground, not being worth twenty ſhillings a-year. When the ſame perſon whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged Solomon to get a clauſe of ſurrender, and at laſt prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years; becauſe it was a madneſs to pay eleven pounds a-year, for a thouſand years, for a houſe that could not laſt twenty. But Solomon made an agreement with his landlady, that he ſhould be at liberty to ſurrender his leaſe in ſeven years; and, if he did not do it at that time, ſhould be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the mean time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the houſe and garden-wall; and, in leſs than three years, contracts ſuch a hatred to the houſe, that he lets it run to ruin: So that, when the

ſeven

ſeven years are expired, he muſt either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be ſued for waſte, and loſe all the money he laid out: And now he pays twelve pounds a-year, for a place he never ſees.

Solomon has an eſtate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of Cavan; upon which, inſtead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pounds *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a Biſhop's leaſe: He is bound, by articles to his Lordſhip, to renew and pay a fine, whenever the Biſhop renews with his landlord, and to raiſe his rent as the landlord ſhall raiſe it to the Biſhop. Seven years expire: Solomon's landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays; then he aſks for a leaſe: The landlord ſays, he may have it at any time. He never gets it. Another ſeven years elapſe: Solomon's landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: Solomon pays both; aſks to have his leaſe renewed: The ſteward anſwers, he will ſpeak to his maſter. Seventeen years are elapſed: The landlord ſends Solomon word that his leaſe is forfeited, becauſe he hath not renewed, and paid his fines according to articles; and now they are at law upon this admirable caſe.

It is Solomon's great happineſs, that when he acts in the common concerns of life, againſt common ſenſe and reaſon, he values himſelf thereupon,

upon, as if it were the mark of a great genius, above little regards of arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to deſcend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot make him a greater compliment, than by telling inſtances to the company, before his face, how careleſs he was in any affair that related to his intereſt and fortune.

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to reſent, as an affront and indignity, what was never intended for either.

He is allured as eaſily by every new acquaintance, eſpecially among women, as a child is by a new play-thing; and is led at will by them to ſuſpect and quarrel with his beſt friends, of whom he hath loſt the greateſt part, for want of that indulgence which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honeſt, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and diſcretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honeſt, nor good-natured.

The perſon above mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country, and out of order; Solomon had appointed to come for him with a chaiſe, and bring him to town. Solomon ſent him word, that he was to ſet out on Monday, and did accordingly,—but to another part of the kingdom thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there ſtaid with her and her family, a month; then

ſent

ſent the chaiſe, in the midſt of winter, to bring the ſaid perſon, where Solomon would meet him, declaring he could not venture himſelf for fear of the froſt: And upon the ſaid perſon refuſing to go in the chaiſe alone, or to truſt to Solomon's appointment, and being in ill-health; Solomon fell into a formal quarrel with that perſon, and foully miſrepreſented the whole affair to juſtify himſelf.

Solomon had publiſhed a humorous ballad, called *Balyſpellin*, whither he had gone to drink the waters with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr Gay's on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of Ballyſpellin. His friend, the perſon ſo often mentioned, being at a gentleman's houſe in the neighbourhood, and merry over Solomon's ballad, they agreed to make another in diſpraiſe of Ballyſpellin-wells, which Solomon had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made uſe of in Solomon's. The thing was done, and all in a mere jeſt and innocent merriment. Yet Solomon was prevailed upon, by the lady he went with, to reſent this as an affront on her and himſelf; which he did accordingly, againſt all the rules of reaſon, taſte, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite ſix or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, ſome of them living five or ſix miles from town. On the day appointed, he will be abſent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back diſappointed:

When he is told of this, he is pleaſed, becauſe it ſhews him to be a genius, and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a High Tory and Jacobite, upon the preſent Queen's birth-day, he writ a ſong, to be performed before the Government, and thoſe who attended them, in praiſe of the Queen and the King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of England, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the Royal Children were ſharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics, which were mentioned in abundance. A young collegian, who had done the ſame job the year before, got ſome reputation on the account of his wit: Solomon would needs vie with him, by which he loſt all the eſteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the leaſt intereſt with the Whigs; for they are now too ſtrong to want advocates of that kind: And therefore one of the Lords Juſtices, reading the verſes in ſome company, ſaid, "Ah, Doctor, this ſhall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living ſoul, as he himſelf confeſſeth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in a hundred inſtances, leaves him as poſitive in the next inſtance, as if he had never been miſtaken in his life: And if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the laſt, he hath another inſtance ready, wherein he is as poſitive as he was the day before.

ON THE

DEATH of Mrs JOHNSON,

[STELLA.]

THIS day, being Sunday January 28th 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a ſervant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the trueſt, moſt virtuous, and valuable friend, that I, or perhaps any other perſon, ever was bleſſed with. She expired about ſix in the evening of this day; and, as ſoon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I reſolve, for my own ſatisfaction, to ſay ſomething of her life and character.

She was born at Richmond in Surrey, on the thirteenth day of March, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamſhire, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed ſhe had little to boaſt of her birth. I knew her from ſix years old, and had ſome ſhare in her education, by directing what books ſhe ſhould read, and perpetually inſtructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which ſhe never ſwerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was ſickly from her childhood, until about the age of fifteen: But then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon

upon as one of the moſt beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London,—only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where ſhe contracted an intimate friendſhip with another Lady of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) ſettled in Ireland; and, about a year after, going to viſit my friends in England, I found ſhe was a little uneaſy upon the death of a perſon on whom ſhe had ſome dependance. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the intereſt of which was but a ſcanty maintenance, in ſo dear a country, for one of her ſpirit. Upon this conſideration, and indeed very much for my own ſatisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in Ireland, I prevailed with her, and her dear friend and companion the other lady *, to draw what money they had into Ireland, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in Ireland, beſides the advantage of returning it, and all neceſſaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and ſoon after came over; but, I happening to continue ſome time longer in England, they were much diſcouraged to live in Dublin, where they were wholly ſtrangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her perſon was ſoon diſtinguiſhed. But

* Mrs Dingley.

the adventure looked ſo like a frolic, the cenſure held, for ſome time, as if there were a ſecret hiſtory in ſuch a removal; which, however, ſoon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For ſome years paſt, ſhe had been viſited with continual ill-health; and ſeveral times, within theſe laſt two years, her life was deſpaired of. But, for this twelvemonth paſt, ſhe never had a day's health; and, properly ſpeaking, ſhe hath been dying ſix months,—but kept alive, almoſt againſt nature, by the generous kindneſs of two phyſicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the ſame night between eleven and twelve.

NEVER was any of her ſex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and converſation. Yet her memory was not of the beſt, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind, that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of perſons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the beſt, and with the greateſt freedom, mixt with the greateſt decency. She had a gracefulneſs ſomewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action. Never was ſo happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, eaſineſs, and ſincerity. There ſeemed to be a combination, among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity

dignity much beyond her rank: Yet people of all ſorts were never more eaſy than in her company. Mr Addiſon, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not ſoon after left the kingdom, aſſured me he would have uſed all endeavours to cultivate her friendſhip. A rude or conceited coxcomb paſſed his time very ill, upon the leaſt breach of reſpect; for, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe had no mercy, but was ſure to expoſe him to the contempt of the ſtanders-by,—yet in ſuch a manner as he was aſhamed to complain, and durſt not reſent. All of us who had the happineſs of her friendſhip, agreed unanimouſly, that, in an afternoon or evening's converſation, ſhe never failed, before we parted, of delivering the beſt thing that was ſaid in the company. Some of us have written down ſeveral of her ſayings, or what the French call *Bon Mots*, wherein ſhe excelled almoſt beyond belief. She never miſtook the underſtanding of others; nor ever ſaid a ſevere word, but where a much ſeverer was deſerved.

Her ſervants loved, and almoſt adored her, at the ſame time. She would, upon occaſions, treat them with freedom; yet her demeanor was ſo awful, that they durſt not fail in the leaſt point of reſpect. She chid them ſeldom, but it was with ſeverity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th. My head achs, and I can write no more.

January 30th, Tueſday. This is the night of the funeral, which my ſickneſs will not ſuffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not ſee the light in the church, which is juſt over againſt the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the ſoftneſs of temper that became a lady, ſhe had the perſonal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new houſe, which ſtood ſolitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the houſe, where there was only one boy. She was then about four and twenty: And, having been warned to apprehend ſome ſuch attempt, ſhe learned the management of a piſtol; and, the other woman and ſervants being half-dead with fear, ſhe ſtole ſoftly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood to prevent being ſeen, primed the piſtol freſh, gently lifted up the ſaſh, and, taking her aim with the utmoſt preſence of mind, diſcharged the piſtol, loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who ſtood the faireſt mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the reſt, and died the next morning; but his companions could not be found. The Duke of Ormond hath often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high eſteem of her. She was indeed under ſome apprehenſions of going in a boat, after ſome danger ſhe ſhe had narrowly eſcaped by water; but ſhe was reaſoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known

known to cry out, or diſcover any fear, in a coach, or on horſeback,—or any uneaſineſs by thoſe ſudden accidents, with which moſt of her ſex, either by weakneſs or affectation, appear ſo much diſordered.

She never had the leaſt abſence of mind in converſation, nor given to interruption,—or appeared eager to put in her word, by waiting impatiently until another had done. She ſpoke in a moſt agreeable voice, in the plaineſt words, never heſitating,—except out of modeſty before new faces, where ſhe was ſomewhat reſerved; nor, among her neareſt friends, ever ſpoke much at a time. She was but little verſed in the common topics of female chat; ſcandal, cenſure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: Yet, among a few friends, in private converſation, ſhe made little ceremony in diſcovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and deſcribing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own ſex, ſhe was rather inclined to extenuate, or to pity.

When ſhe was once convinced by open facts, of any breach of truth or honour, in a perſon of high ſtation, eſpecially in the church, ſhe could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named, without ſhewing her diſpleaſure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter ſort, whom ſhe had known and eſteemed, but deteſted above all mankind, when it was manifeſt, that they had ſacrificed thoſe two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much ſooner

have

have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of ſickneſs, in moſt parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progreſs in reading, which ſhe would otherwiſe have done. She was well verſed in the Greek and Roman ſtory, and was not unſkilled in that of France and England. She ſpoke French perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and ſickneſs. She had read carefully all the beſt books of travels, which ſerve to open and enlarge the mind. She underſtood the Platonic and Epicurean philoſophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abſtracts of the beſt books ſhe had read. She underſtood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good inſight into phyſic, and knew ſomewhat of anatomy; in both which ſhe was inſtructed in her younger days, by an eminent phyſician, who had her long under his care, and bore the higheſt eſteem of her perſon and underſtanding. She had a true taſte for wit and good ſenſe, both in poetry and proſe, and was a perfect good critic of ſtyle: Neither was it eaſy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whoſe advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to ſend a thing into the world, provided it was on a ſubject that came within the compaſs of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, ſhe was ſometimes too ſevere, which is a ſafe and

pardonable

pardonable error. She preſerved her wit, judgment, and vivacity, to the laſt,—but often uſed to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with ſome acceſſion, could not, as I have heard ſay, amount to much more than two thouſand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in England, and one in Ireland. In a perſon ſo extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention ſome particulars, although of little moment, further than to ſet forth her character. Some preſents of gold-pieces being often made to her while ſhe was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promiſe to keep them, ſhe grew into ſuch a ſpirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She uſed to ſhew them, with boaſting; but her mother, apprehending ſhe would be cheated of them, prevailed, in ſome months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to intereſt: When the girl loſt the pleaſure of ſeeing and counting her gold, which ſhe never failed of doing many times in a day, and deſpaired of heaping up ſuch another treaſure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: She grew careleſs and ſquandering of every new acquiſition, and ſo continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of ſome friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradeſmen, who enticed her into their debt, ſhe began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at reſt until ſhe had diſcharged

ged all her ſhop-bills, and refunded herſelf a conſiderable ſum ſhe had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years, and a ſuperior underſtanding, ſhe became, and continued all her life, a moſt prudent œconomiſt; yet ſtill with a ſtrong bent to the liberal ſide, wherein ſhe gratified herſelf, by avoiding all expence in cloaths, (which ſhe ever deſpiſed) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of ſickneſs were very chargeable, except fees to phyſicians, of which ſhe met with ſeveral ſo generous that ſhe could force nothing on them, (and indeed ſhe muſt otherwiſe have been undone); yet ſhe never was without a conſiderable ſum of ready money: Inſomuch, that, upon her death, when her neareſt friends thought her very bare, her executors found, in her ſtrong box, about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowneſs of her fortune, in nothing ſo much as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends ſo often, and in ſo hoſpitable a manner, as ſhe deſired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while ſhe was in health to direct, were treated with neatneſs and elegance: So that the revenues of her and her companion, paſſed for much more conſiderable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings, their domeſticks conſiſting of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family-expences, from her arrival in Ireland, to ſome months before her death; and ſhe would often repine,

when

when looking back upon the annals of her houſe-hold bills, that every thing neceſſary for life was double the price, while intereſt of money was ſunk almoſt to one half; ſo that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown abſolutely neceſſary.

[I ſince writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminiſhed, and therefore became a tax upon thoſe tradeſmen who furniſh the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as ſeldom as poſſible, and thoſe as plain and cheap as conſiſted with the ſituation ſhe was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of thoſe on whom ſhe beſtowed her charity; for it went further in doing good, than double the ſum from any other hand. And I have heard her ſay, ſhe always met with gratitude from the poor; which muſt be owing to her ſkill in diſtinguiſhing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner of relieving them.

But ſhe had another quality that much delighted her, altho' it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however it was a pleaſure ſhe could not reſiſt: I mean, that of making agreeable preſents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as moſt in the courſe of life. She uſed to define a preſent, That it was a gift to a friend of ſomething he wanted or was fond of, and

which

which could not be eaſily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, ſhe hath, in theſe and ſome other kinds of liberality, diſpoſed of to the value of ſeveral hundred pounds. As to preſents made to herſelf, ſhe received them with great unwillingneſs, but eſpecially from thoſe to whom ſhe had ever given any; being on all occaſions the moſt diſintereſted mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own diſpoſition, at leaſt as much as from the frequent want of health, ſhe ſeldom made any viſits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many perſons of the graver ſort, who all reſpected her highly, upon her good ſenſe, good manners, and converſation. Among theſe were the late Primate Lindſay, Biſhop Lloyd, Biſhop Aſhe, Biſhop Brown, Biſhop Stearn, Biſhop Pulleyn, with ſome others of later date; and indeed the greateſt number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modeſty, were the virtues ſhe chiefly poſſeſſed, and moſt valued in her acquaintance; and, where ſhe found them, would be ready to allow for ſome defects,—nor valued them leſs, altho' they did not ſhine in learning, or in wit; but would never give the leaſt allowance for any failures in the former, even to thoſe who made the greateſt figure in either of the two latter. She had no uſe of any perſon's liberality; yet her deteſtation of covetous people, made her uneaſy

if ſuch a one was in her company; upon which occaſion, ſhe would ſay many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any perſon who ſpoke; ſhe laught at no miſtakes they made, but helped them out with modeſty; and if a good thing were ſpoken, but neglected, ſhe would not let it fall, but ſet it in the beſt light to thoſe who were preſent. She liſtened to all that was ſaid, and had never the leaſt diſtraction, or abſence of thought.

It was not ſafe nor prudent, in her preſence, to offend in the leaſt word againſt modeſty; for ſhe then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and reſentment, under which even ſtupidity and brutality were forced to ſink into confuſion; and the guilty perſon, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a ſatyr, was never in a way to tranſgreſs a ſecond time.

It happened one ſingle coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among ſeveral other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver ſome double meanings: The reſt flap their fans, and uſed the other common expedients practiſed in ſuch caſes, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was ſaid. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be cenſured. She ſaid thus to the man: "Sir, all theſe ladies and I "underſtand your meaning very well; having, in "ſpite of our care, too often met with thoſe of "your ſex who wanted manners and good ſenſe.

" But, believe me, neither virtuous, nor even " vicious women, love ſuch kind of converſation. " However, I will leave you, and report your " behaviour: And, whatever viſit I make, I " ſhall firſt enquire at the door, whether you are " in the houſe, that I may be ſure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of ſuch a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would ſoon put an end to that corrupt converſation, the worſt effect of dulneſs, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and the higheſt affront to the modeſty and underſtanding of the female ſex.

By returning very few viſits, ſhe had not much company of her own ſex, except thoſe whom ſhe moſt loved for their eaſineſs, or eſteemed for their good ſenſe; and thoſe, not inſiſting on ceremony, came often to her. But ſhe rather choſe men for her companions; the uſual topics of ladies diſcourſe being ſuch as ſhe had little knowledge of, and leſs reliſh. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for ſhe eaſily deſcended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, cenſure, family-management, or town-talk, ſhe always diverted to ſomething elſe: But theſe indeed ſeldom happened, for ſhe choſe her company better; and therefore many, who miſtook her and themſelves, having ſolicited her acquaintance, and finding themſelves diſappointed after a few viſits, dropt off; and ſhe was never known to enquire into the reaſon, or aſk what was become of them.

She

She was never poſitive in arguing; and ſhe uſually treated thoſe who were ſo, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy diſpoſition,—yet in ſuch a ſort as made it very contemptible, and at the ſame time did ſome hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her eaſineſs in general, or from her indifference to certain perſons, or from her deſpair of mending them, or from the ſame practice which ſhe much liked in Mr Addiſon, I cannot determine; but when ſhe ſaw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, ſhe was more inclined to confirm them in it, than oppoſe them. The excuſe ſhe commonly gave when her friends aſked the reaſon, was, that it prevented noiſe, and ſaved time: Yet I have known her very angry with ſome, whom ſhe much eſteemed, for ſometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved Ireland much better, than the generality of thoſe who owe both their birth and and riches to it; and having brought over all the fortune ſhe had in money, left the reverſion of the beſt part of it, one thouſand pounds, to Dr Stephen's Hoſpital. She deteſted the tyranny and injuſtice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reaſon to love a country, where ſhe had the eſteem and friendſhip of all who knew her, and the univerſal good report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by thoſe who keep general converſation. Which character is

the more extraordinary, in falling to a perſon of ſo much knowledge, wit, and vivacity; qualities that are uſed to create envy, and conſequently cenſure,—and muſt be rather imputed to her great modeſty, gentle behaviour, and inoffenſiveneſs, than to her ſuperior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was more extenſive than uſually falls to the ſhare of her ſex; yet ſhe was ſo far from making a parade of it, that her female viſitants, on their firſt acquaintance, who expected to diſcover it, by what they call hard words and deep diſcourſe, were ſometimes diſappointed, and ſaid, they found ſhe was like other women. But wiſe men, through all her modeſty, whatever they diſcourſed on, could eaſily obſerve that ſhe underſtood them very well, by the judgment ſhown in her obſervations, as well as in her queſtions.

A

PRAYER, uſed by the DEAN, for MRS JOHNSON *, in her laſt ſickneſs.

Written in October 17. 1727.

MOST merciful Father! accept our humbleſt prayers in behalf of this thy languiſhing ſervant. Forgive the ſins, the frailties, and infirmities of her life paſt. Accept the good deeds ſhe hath done, in ſuch a manner, that at whatever time thou ſhalt pleaſe to call her, ſhe may

 be

* Mrs Johnſon was the daughter of Sir William Temple's ſteward, and the concealed, but undoubted wife of Dr Swift. Sir William Temple bequeathed her, in his will, 1000l. as an acknowledgement of her father's faithful ſervices. I cannot tell how long ſhe remained in England, or whether ſhe made more journeys than one to Ireland, after Sir William Temple's death; but, if my informations are right, ſhe was married to Dr Swift in the year 1716, by Dr Aſhe, then Biſhop of Clogher.

Stella was a moſt amiable woman in mind and perſon. She had an elevated underſtanding, with all the delicacy and ſoftneſs of her ſex. Her voice, however ſweet in itſelf, was ſtill rendered more harmonious by what ſhe ſaid. Her wit was poignant, without ſeverity. Her manners were humane, polite, eaſy, and unreſerved. Wherever ſhe came, ſhe attracted attention and eſteem. As virtue was her guide in morality, ſincerity was her guide in religion. She was conſtant, but not oſtentatious, in her devotions. She was remarkably prudent in her converſation. She had great ſkill in muſic, and was perfectly well verſed in all the leſſer arts that employ a lady's leiſure.

Her

be received into everlaſting habitations. Give her grace to continue ſincerely thankful to thee, for the many favours thou haſt beſtowed upon her; the ability, and inclination, and practice, to do good; and thoſe virtues which have procured the eſteem and love of her friends, and a moſt unſpotted name in the world. O God! thou diſpenſeſt thy bleſſings, and thy puniſhments, as it becometh infinite juſtice and mercy; and ſince it was thy pleaſure to afflict her with a long, conſtant, weakly ſtate of health, make her truly ſenſible, that it was for very wiſe ends, and was largely made up to her in other bleſſings, more valuable, and leſs common. Continue to her,

O

Her wit allowed her a fund of perpetual chearfulneſs: her prudence kept that chearfulneſs within proper limits. She exactly anſwered the deſcription of Penelope in Homer:

A woman lovelieſt of the lovely kind,
In body perfect, and complete in mind.

Such was Stella: Yet, with all theſe accompliſhments, ſhe never could prevail upon Dr Swift to acknowledge her openly as his wife. A great genius muſt tread in unbeaten paths, and deviate from the common road of life; otherwiſe ſurely a diamond of ſo much luſtre might have been publicly produced, although it had been fixed within the collet of matrimony. But the flaw which, in Dr Swift's eye, reduced the value of ſuch a jewel, was the ſervile ſtate of her father, who, as has been ſaid before, was a menial ſervant to Sir William Temple. Ambition and pride will, at any time, conquer reaſon and juſtice; and each larger degree of pride, like the larger fiſhes of prey, will devour all the leſs. Thus the vanity of boaſting ſuch a wife, was ſuppreſſed by the greater vanity of keeping free from a low alliance.

Dr

O Lord! that firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, wherewith thou haſt moſt graciouſly endued her; together with that contempt of worldly things and vanities, that ſhe hath ſhewn in the whole conduct of her life. O All-powerful Being, the leaſt motion of whoſe will can create or deſtroy a world! pity us, the mournful friends of thy diſtreſſed ſervant, who ſink under the weight of her preſent condition, and the fear of loſing the moſt valuable of our friends. Reſtore her to us, O Lord! if it be thy gracious will; or inſpire us with conſtancy and reſignation, to ſupport ourſelves under ſo heavy an affliction. Reſtore her, O

Dr Swift and Mrs Johnſon continued the ſame œconomy of life after marriage, which they had purſued before it. They lived in ſeparate houſes; he remained at the deanry,—ſhe in lodgings at a diſtance from him, and on the other ſide of the river Liffey. Nothing appeared in their behaviour inconſiſtent with decorum, or beyond the limits of Platonic love. They converſed like friends, but they induſtriouſly took care to ſummon witneſſes of their converſation: A rule to which they adhered ſo ſtrictly, that it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to prove they had ever been together without ſome third perſon.

A conduct ſo extraordinary in itſelf, always gives room for various comments and reflections. But however unaccountable this renunciation of marriage-rights might appear to the world, it certainly roſe not from any conſciouſneſs of too near a conſanguinity between him and Mrs Johnſon, although the general voice of fame was willing to make them both the natural children of Sir William Temple. I am perſuaded, that Dr Swift was not of that opinion; becauſe the ſame falſe pride that induced him to deny the legitimate daughter of an obſcure ſervant, might have prompted him to own the natural daughter of ſo eminent a man as Sir William Temple.

There

O Lord! for the ſake of thoſe poor, who, by loſing her, will be deſolate; and thoſe ſick, who will not only want her bounty, but her care and tending; or elſe, in thy mercy, raiſe up ſome other in her place, with equal diſpoſition, and better abilities. Leſſen, O Lord! we beſeech thee, her bodily pains, or give her a double ſtrength of mind to ſupport them. And if thou wilt ſoon take her to thyſelf, turn our thoughts rather upon that felicity which we hope ſhe ſhall enjoy, than upon that unſpeakable loſs we ſhall endure. Let her memory be ever dear unto us; and the example

There are actions of which the true ſources will never be diſcovered. This perhaps is one. I have told you the fact, in the manner I have received it from ſeveral of Swift's friends and relations; and I muſt leave you to make your own obſervations upon it.

You may imagine, that a woman of Stella's delicacy muſt repine at ſuch an extraordinary ſituation. The outward honours which ſhe received, are as frequently beſtowed upon a miſtreſs, as upon a wife. She was abſolutely virtuous; and yet was obliged to ſubmit to all the appearances of vice, except in the preſence of thoſe few people who were witneſſes of the cautious manner in which ſhe lived with her huſband, who ſcorned even to be married like any other man.

Inward anxiety affected, by degrees, the calmneſs of her mind, and the ſtrength of her body. She began to decline in her health, in the year 1724; and from the firſt ſymptoms of decay, ſhe rather haſtened than ſhrunk back in the deſcent; tacitly pleaſed to find her footſteps tending to that place where *they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.* She died towards the end of January 1727-8, abſolutely deſtroyed by the peculiarity of her fate; a fate which perhaps ſhe could not have incurred by an alliance with any other perſon in the world. *Orrery.*

example of her many virtues, as far as human infirmity will admit, our conſtant imitation. Accept, O Lord! theſe prayers, poured from the very bottom of our hearts, in thy mercy, and for the merits of our bleſſed Saviour. *Amen.*

ANOTHER, *written Nov.* 6. 1727 *.

O Merciful Father! who never afflicteſt thy children, but for their own good, and with juſtice, over which thy mercy always prevaileth, either to turn them to repentance, or to puniſh them in the preſent life, in order to reward them in a better: Take pity, we beſeech thee, upon this thy poor afflicted ſervant, languiſhing ſo long and ſo grievouſly under the weight of thy hand. Give her ſtrength, O Lord! to ſupport her weakneſs, and patience to endure her pains, without repining at thy correction. Forgive every raſh and inconſiderate expreſſion, which her anguiſh may at any time force from her tongue, while her heart continueth in an entire ſubmiſſion to thy will. Suppreſs in her, O Lord! all eager deſires of life; and leſſen her fears of death, by inſpiring into her, an humble, yet aſſured hope of thy mercy. Give her a ſincere repentance for all her tranſgreſſions and omiſſions,

* Mrs Johnſon, *alias* Stella, died on the 28th of January following, in the 44th year of her age.

ſions, and a firm reſolution to paſs the remainder of her life, in endeavouring, to her utmoſt, to obſerve all thy precepts. We beſeech thee, likewiſe, to compoſe her thoughts; and preſerve to her the uſe of her memory and reaſon, during the courſe of her ſickneſs. Give her a true conception of the vanity, folly, and inſignificancy of all human things; and ſtrengthen her, ſo as to beget in her a ſincere love of thee in the midſt of her ſufferings. Accept, and impute all her good deeds, and forgive her all thoſe offences againſt thee, which ſhe hath ſincerely repented of, or, through the frailty of memory, hath forgot. And now, O Lord! we turn to thee in behalf of ourſelves, and the reſt of our ſorrowful friends. Let not our grief afflict her mind, and thereby have an ill effect on her preſent diſtemper. Forgive the ſorrow and weakneſs of thoſe among us, who ſink under the grief and terror of loſing ſo dear and uſeful a friend. Accept and pardon our moſt earneſt prayers and wiſhes for her longer continuance in this evil world, to do what thou art pleaſed to call thy ſervice, and is only her bounden duty; that ſhe may be ſtill a comfort to us, and to all others, who will want the benefit of her converſation, her advice, her good offices, or her charity. And ſince thou haſt promiſed, that where two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt be in the midſt of them, to grant their requeſt; O gracious Lord! grant to us who are here met in thy name, that thoſe requeſts, which, in the utmoſt ſincerity and

earneſt-

earneſtneſs of our hearts, we have now made in behalf of this thy diſtreſſed ſervant, and of ourſelves, may effectually be anſwered; through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord. *Amen.*

BON MOTS DE STELLA.

A LADY of my intimate acquaintance both in England and Ireland, in which laſt kingdom ſhe lived from the eighteenth year of her age, twenty-ſix years, had the moſt and fineſt accompliſhments of any perſon I ever knew of either ſex. It was obſerved by all her acquaintance, that ſhe never failed in company to ſay the beſt thing that was ſaid, whoever was by; yet her companions were uſually perſons of the beſt underſtanding in the kingdom. Some of us, who were her neareſt friends, lamented that we never wrote down her remarks, and what the French call *bon mots*. I will recollect as many as I can remember.

We were diverting ourſelves at a play called *What is it like?* One perſon is to think; and the reſt, without knowing the thing, to ſay what it is like. The thing thought on was the ſpleen: She had ſaid it was like an oyſter; and gave her reaſon immediately, becauſe it was removed by taking ſteel inwardly.

Dr Sheridan, who ſquandered more than he could afford, took out his purſe as he ſat by the fire,

fire, and found it was very hot: She ſaid, the reaſon was, that his money burnt in his pocket.

She called to her ſervants to know what ill ſmell was in the kitchen? They anſwered, they were making matches: Well, ſaid ſhe, I have heard matches were made in heaven; but, by the brimſtone, one would think they were made in hell.

After ſhe had been eating ſome ſweet thing, a little of it happened to ſtick on her lips. A gentleman told her of it, and offered to lick it off: She ſaid, No, Sir, I thank you; I have a tongue of my own.

In the late King's time, a gentleman aſked Jervas the painter, where he lived in London? He anſwered, Next door to the King, (for his houſe was near St James's.) The other wondering how that could be; ſhe ſaid, You miſtake Mr Jervas, for he only means next door to the *ſign* of a king.

A gentleman who had been very ſilly and pert in her company, at laſt began to grieve at remembering the loſs of a child lately dead. A biſhop ſitting by comforted him, that he ſhould be eaſy, becauſe the child was gone to heaven. No, my Lord, ſaid ſhe, that is it which moſt grieves him, becauſe he is ſure never to ſee his child there.

Having ſeen ſome letters writ by a king in a very large hand, and ſome perſons wondering at them, ſhe ſaid it confirmed the old ſaying, *That kings had long hands.*

Dr Sheridan, famous for punning, intending to ſell a bargain, ſaid, he had made a very good pun. Some body aſked what it was? He anſwered, My a—. The other taking offence, ſhe inſiſted the Doctor was in the right; for every body knew that punning was his *blind ſide.*

When ſhe was extremely ill, her phyſicians ſaid, Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavour to get you up again. She anſwered, Doctor, I fear I ſhall be *out of breath* before I get up to the top.

A dull parſon talking of a very ſmart thing, ſaid to another parſon as he came out of the pulpit, he was hammering a long time, but could not remember the jeſt. She being impatient, ſaid, I remember it very well, for I was there, and the words were theſe: Sir, you have been blundering at a ſtory this half-hour, and can neither make head nor tail of it.

A very dirty clergyman of her acquaintance, who affected ſmartneſs and repartee, was aſked by ſome of the company, how his nails came to be ſo dirty? He was at a loſs; but ſhe ſolved the difficulty, by ſaying, The Doctor's nails grew dirty by ſcratching *himſelf.*

A Quaker apothecary ſent her a vial corked; it had a broad brim, and a label of paper about its neck. What is that, ſaid ſhe, my apothecary's ſon? The ridiculous reſemblance, and the ſuddenneſs of the queſtion, ſet us all a-laughing.

THOUGHTS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS*.

LAWS penned with the utmoſt care and exactneſs, and in the vulgar language, are often perverted to wrong meanings; then why ſhould we wonder that the Bible is ſo?

Although men are accuſed for not knowing their weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own ſtrength.

A man ſeeing a waſp creeping into a vial filled with honey, that was hung on a fruit-tree, ſaid thus: Why, thou ſottiſh animal, art thou mad to go into the vial, where you ſee many hundred of your kind there dying before you? The reproach is juſt, anſwered the waſp; but not from you men, who are ſo far from taking example by other people's follies, that you will not take warning by your own. If, after falling ſeveral times into this vial, and eſcaping by chance, I ſhould fall in again, I ſhould then but reſemble you.

An

* Theſe *Thoughts*, and the *Bons Mots de Stella*, ſeem to be part of Sheridan's Collection of *Contes a rire*, and *Bons Mots*.

An old miſer kept a tame jack-daw, that uſed to ſteal pieces of money, and hide them in a hole; which the cat obſerving, aſked, Why he would hoard up thoſe round ſhining things that he could make no uſe of? Why, ſaid the jack-daw, my maſter has a whole cheſt-full, and makes no more uſe of them than I.

Men are contented to be laughed at for their wit, but not for their folly.

If the men of wit and genius would reſolve never to complain in their works of critics and detractors, the next age would not know that they ever had any.

After all the maxims and ſyſtems of trade and commerce, a ſtander-by would think the affairs of the world were moſt ridiculouſly contrived.

There are few countries, which, if well cultivated, would not ſupport double the number of their inhabitants, and yet fewer, where one third part of the people are not extremely ſtinted, even in the neceſſaries of life. I ſend out twenty barrels of corn, which would maintain a family in bread for a year, and I bring back in return a veſſel of wine, which half a dozen good fellows would drink in leſs than a month, at the expence of their health and reaſon.

A motto for the Jeſuits:

Quæ regio in terris noſtri non plena laboris?

A man would have but few ſpectators, if he offered to ſhew, for three-pence, how he could

thruſt a red-hot iron into a barrel of gunpowder, and it ſhould not take fire *.

Query, Whether churches are not dormitories of the living, as well as of the dead?

Harry Killegrew ſaid to Lord Wharton, "You "would not ſwear at that rate, if you thought "you were doing God honour."

A copy of verſes kept in the cabinet, and only ſhewn to a few friends, is like a Virgil much ſought after, and admired; but when printed and publiſhed, is like a common whore, whom any body may purchaſe for half a crown.

Lewis XIV. of France, ſpent his life in turning a good name into a great.

Since the union of divinity and humanity is the great article of our religion, it is odd to ſee ſome clergymen, in their writings of divinity, wholly devoid of humanity.

The Epicureans began to ſpread at Rome in the empire of Auguſtus, as the Socinians, and even the Epicureans too, did in England towards the end of King Charles II.'s reign; which is reckoned, though very abſurdly, our Auguſtan age. They both ſeem to be corruptions occaſioned by luxury and peace, and by politeneſs beginning to decline.

Sometimes I read a book with pleaſure, and deteſt the author.

At a bookſeller's ſhop, ſome time ago, I ſaw a book with this title, *Poems by the author of the Choice.*

* See *The wonder of wonders*, in vol. vi. p. 62.

Choice *. Not enduring to read a dozen lines, I aſked the company with me, whether they had ever ſeen the book, or heard of the poem from whence the author denominated himſelf? They were all as ignorant as I. But I find it common with theſe ſmall dealers in wit and learning, to give themſelves a title from their firſt adventure, as Don Quixote uſually did from his laſt. This ariſeth from that great importance, which every man ſuppoſeth himſelf to be of.

One Dennis, commonly called *the critic*, who had writ a three-penny pamphlet againſt the power of France, being in the country, and hearing of a French privateer hovering about the coaſt, although he were twenty miles from the ſea, fled to town, and told his friends, they need not wonder at his haſte; for the King of France having got intelligence where he was, had ſent a privateer on purpoſe to catch him †.

Dr Gee, prebendary of Weſtminſter, who had writ a ſmall paper againſt Popery, being obliged to travel for his health, affected to diſguiſe his perſon, and change his name, as he paſſed thro' Portugal, Spain and Italy; telling all the Engliſh he met, that he was afraid of being murdered, or put into the inquiſition. He was acting the ſame farce at Paris, till Mr Prior (who was then ſecretary to the embaſſy) quite diſconcerted the Doctor, by maliciouſly diſcovering the ſecret, and

* The Rev. Mr Pomfret, a diſſenting miniſter.

† See *An account of the phrenzy of John Dennis*, in vol. vii. p. 201.

offering to engage body for body, that not a creature would hurt him, or had ever heard of him or his pamphlet.

A chambermaid to a lady of my acquaintance, thirty miles from London, had the very ſame turn of thought. When talking with one of her fellow-ſervants, ſhe ſaid, " I hear it is all over " London already, that I am going to leave my " lady." And ſo had a footman, who being newly married, deſired his comrade to tell him freely what the town ſaid of it.

When ſomebody was telling a certain great miniſter, that people were diſcontented; " Poh!" ſaid he, " half a dozen fools are pratting in a " coffee-houſe, and preſently think their own " noiſe about their ears is made by the world."

The death of a private man is generally of ſo little importance to the world, that it cannot be a thing of great importance in itſelf; and yet I do not obſerve, from the practice of mankind, that either philoſophly or nature have ſufficiently armed us againſt the fears which attend it. Neither do I find any thing able to reconcile us to it, but extreme pain, ſhame, or deſpair; for poverty, impriſonment, ill fortune, grief, ſickneſs, and old age, do generally fail.

Whence comes the cuſtom of bidding a woman look upon her apron ſtrings to find an excuſe? Was it not from the apron of fig-leaves worn by Eve, when ſhe covered herſelf, and was the firſt

of

of her ſex who made a bad excuſe, for eating the forbidden fruit?

I never wonder to ſee men wicked, but I often wonder to ſee them not aſhamed.

Do not we ſee how eaſily we pardon our own actions and paſſions, and the very infirmities of our bodies? Why ſhould it be wonderful to find us pardon our own dulneſs?

Dignity and ſtation, or great riches, are in ſome ſort neceſſary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a diſtance, who are otherwiſe too apt to inſult them upon the ſcore of their age.

There is no vice or folly that requires ſo much nicety and ſkill to manage, as vanity; nor any which by ill management makes ſo contemptible a figure.

Obſervation is an old man's memory.

Politics are nothing but corruptions, and are conſequently of no uſe to a good king, or a good miniſtry; for which reaſon all courts are ſo full of politics.

Eloquence ſmooth and cutting, is like a razor whetted with oil.

Imaginary evils ſoon become real ones, by indulging our reflections on them; as he who in a melancholy fancy ſees ſomething like a face on the wall or the wainſcot, can, by two or three touches with a lead pencil, make it look viſible, and agreeing with what he fancied.

Men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of public buſineſs, becauſe they

are

are apt to go out of the common road, by the quickneſs of their imagination. This I once ſaid to my Lord Bolingbroke, and deſired he would obſerve, that the clerks in his office uſed a ſort of ivory knife with a blunt edge, to divide a ſheet of paper, which never failed to cut it even, only requiring a ſtrong hand; whereas, if they ſhould make uſe of a ſharp pen-knife, the ſharpneſs would make it go often out of the creaſe, and diſfigure the paper.

He who does not provide for his own houſe, St Paul ſays, *is worſe than an infidel.* And I think, he who provides only for his own houſe, is juſt equal with an infidel.

Jealouſy, like fire, may ſhrivel up horns, but it makes them ſtink.

A footman's hat ſhould fly off to every body; and therefore Mercury, who was Jupiter's footman, had wings faſtened to his cap.

When a man pretends love, but courts for money, he is like a juggler, who conjures away your ſhilling, and conveys ſomething very indecent under the hat.

All panegyrics are mingled with an infuſion of poppy.

I have known men happy enough at ridicule, who, upon grave ſubjects, were perfectly ſtupid; of which Dr Echard of Cambridge, who writ *The contempt of the clergy*, was a great inſtance.

One top of Parnaſſus was ſacred to Bacchus, the other to Apollo.

Matrimony

Matrimony hath many children; Repentance, Diſcord, Poverty, Jealouſy, Sickneſs, Spleen, Loathing, *&c.*

Viſion is the art of ſeeing things inviſible.

The two maxims of any great man at court are, Always to keep his countenance; and, Never to keep his word.

I aſked a poor man how he did? He ſaid, he was like a waſh-ball, always in decay.

Hippocrates, *aph.* 32. *ſect.* 6. obſerves, that ſtuttering people are always ſubject to a looſeneſs. I wiſh phyſicians had power to remove the profuſion of words, in many people, to the inferior parts.

A man dreamed he was a cuckold; a friend told him it was a bad ſign, becauſe when a dream is true, Virgil ſays it paſſes through the horned gate.

Love is a flame: And therefore we ſay, beauty is attractive; becauſe phyſicians obſerve that fire is a great drawer.

Civis, the moſt honourable name among the Romans; a citizen, a word of contempt among us.

A lady who had gallantries and ſeveral children, told her huſband, he was like the auſtere man, who reaped where he did not ſow.

We read that an aſs's head was ſold for eighty pieces of ſilver; they have been lately ſold ten thouſand times dearer, and yet they were never more plentiful.

I muſt complain the cards are ill ſhuffled, till I have a good hand.

Very few men do properly live at preſent, but are providing to live another time.

When I am reading a book, whether wiſe or ſilly, it ſeems to me to be alive, and talking to me.

Whoever live at a different end of the town from me, I look upon as perſons out of the world,—and only myſelf, and the ſcene about me, to be in it.

When I was young, I thought all the world, as well as myſelf, was wholly taken up in diſcourſing upon the laſt new play.

My Lord Cromarty, after fourſcore, went to his country-houſe in Scotland, with a reſolution to ſtay ſix years there, and live thriftily, in order to ſave up money, that he might ſpend in London.

It is ſaid of the horſes in the viſion, that their power was in their mouths, and in their tails. What is ſaid of horſes in the viſion, in reality may be ſaid of women.

Elephants are always drawn ſmaller than the life, but a flea always larger.

When old folks tell us of many paſſages in their youth between them and their company, we are apt to think how much happier thoſe times were than the preſent.

Why does the elder ſiſter dance barefoot, when the younger is married before her? Is it not that

ſhe

ſhe may appear ſhorter, and conſequently be thought younger than the bride?

No man will take counſel, but every man will take money: Therefore money is better than counſel.

I never yet knew a wag (as the term is) who was not a dunce.

A perſon reading to me a dull poem of his own making, I prevailed on him to ſcratch out ſix lines together: In turning over the leaf, the ink being wet, it marked as many lines on the other ſide; whereof the poet complaining, I bid him be eaſy, for it would be better if thoſe were out too.

At Windſor I was obſerving to my Lord Bolingbroke, that the tower where the maids of honour lodged (who at that time were not very handſome) was much frequented with crows. My Lord ſaid, it was becauſe they ſmelt carrion.

THE

THE

BLUNDERS, DEFICIENCIES, DISTRESSES, AND MISFORTUNES of QUILCA.

Propoſed to contain one and twenty volumes in quarto. Begun April 20. 1724. To be continued weekly, if due encouragement be given.

BUT one lock and a half in the whole houſe.

The key of the garden-door loſt.

The empty bottles all uncleanable.

The veſſels for drink few and leaky.

The new houſe all going to ruin before it is finiſhed.

One hinge of the ſtreet-door broke off, and the people forced to go out and come in at the back-door.

The door of the Dean's bed-chamber full of large chinks.

The beaufet letting in ſo much wind, that it almoſt blows out the candles.

The Dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

The little table looſe and broken in the joints.

The paſſages open over head, by which the cats paſs continually into the cellar, and eat the

victuals; for which one was tried, condemned, and executed by the ſword.

The large table in a very tottering condition.

But one chair in the houſe fit for ſitting on, and that in a very ill ſtate of health.

The kitchen perpetually crouded with ſavages.

Not a bit of mutton to be had in the country.

Want of beds, and a mutiny thereupon among the ſervants, till ſupplied from Kells.

An egregious want of all the moſt common neceſſary utenſils.

Not a bit of turf this cold weather; and Mrs Johnſon, and the Dean in perſon, with all their ſervants, forced to aſſiſt at the bog in gathering up the wet bottoms of old clamps.

The grate in the ladies bed-chamber broke, and forced to be removed, by which they were compelled to be without fire; the chimney ſmoking intolerably; and the Dean's great coat was employed to ſtop the wind from coming down the chimney, without which expedient they muſt have been ſtarved to death.

A meſſenger ſent a mile to borrow an old broken tundiſh.

Bottles ſtopped with bits of wood and tow, inſtead of corks.

Not one utenſil for a fire, except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the houſe, and is likewiſe employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a fleſh-fork.

Every ſervant an arrant thief as to victuals and drink, and every comer and goer as arrant a thief of every thing he or ſhe can lay their hands on.

The ſpit blunted with pocking into bogs for timber, and tears the meat to pieces.

Bellum atque fœminam: Or, A kitchen-war between nurſe and a naſty crew of both ſexes; ſhe to preſerve order and cleanlineſs, they to deſtroy both; and they generally are conquerors.

April 28. This morning the great fore-door quite open, dancing backwards and forwards with all its weight upon the lower hinge, which muſt have been broken, if the Dean had not accidentally come and relieved it.

A great hole in the floor of the ladies chamber, every hour hazarding a broken leg.

Two damnable iron-ſpikes erect on the Dean's bed-ſtead, by which he is in danger of a broken ſhin at riſing and going to bed.

The ladies, and Dean's ſervants, growing faſt into the manners and thieveries of the natives: The ladies themſelves very much corrupted; the Dean perpetually ſtorming, and in danger of either loſing all his fleſh, or ſinking into barbarity, for the ſake of peace.

Mrs Dingly full of cares for herſelf, and blunders and negligence for her friends: Mrs Johnſon ſick and helpleſs: The Dean deaf and fretting; the lady's maid awkward and clumſy; Robert lazy and forgetful: William a pragmatical,

cal, ignorant, and conceited puppy; Robin and nurſe the two great and only ſupports of the family.

Bellum lacteum; or, The milky battle, fought between the Dean and the crew of Quilca: The latter inſiſting on their privilege of not milking till eleven in the forenoon; whereas Mrs Johnſon wanted milk at eight for her health. In this battle the Dean got the victory; but the crew of Quilca begin to rebel again; for it is this day almoſt ten o'clock, and Mrs Johnſon hath not got her milk.

A proverb on the lazineſs and lodgings of the ſervants: *The worſe their ſtye, the longer they lie.*

Two great holes in the wall of the ladies bedchamber, juſt at the back of the bed, and one of them directly behind Mrs Johnſon's pillow, either of which would blow out a candle in the calmeſt day.

A modeſt DEFENCE of a late POEM by an unknown author, called, THE LADY'S DRESSING-ROOM *.

Written in the year 1732.

[*The poem on the* Lady's dreſſing-room *having given offence to a few* ſqueamiſh ladies, *and ſome* fine gentlemen, *it was thought proper to publiſh the following* defence.]

A Poem, or pamphlet, publiſhed in this kingdom without a name, will not long want one, if the paper maketh a noiſe.

There is a certain *perſon* of diſtinction among us, who is conjectured to have written many things, both in proſe and verſe, for the ſervice of the nation, which undoubtedly were publiſhed with his own conſent. It is alſo believed, that he has compoſed others occaſionally, for the amuſement of himſelf and a few intimate friends; which, by the indiſcretion of others, were, from ſtolen and incorrect copies, *dragged into light*.

But I hold it for certain, that a much greater number have, by the boldneſs of *printers*, and the want of judgment in *readers*, been charged upon that *author*, wherein he never had the ſmalleſt finger, as I am aſſured he hath often declared; and, which is remarkable, was as free in

* See this poem in vol. ix. p. 36.

in diſowning ſome writings charged upon him, of which he had no reaſon to be aſhamed, as he could be of the meaneſt productions of Hibernian Grub-ſtreet.

As to thoſe *fatal verſes*, called *The Lady's dreſſing-room*, which have ſo highly inflamed the whole ſex, (except a very few of better judgment); as I can by no means juſtify the vulgar opinion, that ſeemeth to fix it upon a perſon ſo well known for works of a very different nature; ſo I cannot but lament the prevailing ill taſte among us, which is not able to diſcover that uſeful ſatire running through every line, and the matter as decently wrapped up as it is poſſible the ſubject could bear.

Cleanlineſs hath, in all polite ages and nations, been eſteemed the chief corporal perfection in *women*; as it is well known to thoſe who are converſant with the ancient *poets*. And ſo it is ſtill among the young people of judgment and ſobriety, when they are diſpoſed to marry. And I do not doubt, but that there is a great number of young ladies in this town and kingdom, who, in reading that poem, find great complacency in their own minds, from a conſciouſneſs that the ſatirical part in the *Lady's dreſſing-room* doth not in the leaſt affect them.

Wherefore it is manifeſt, that no *poem* was ever written with a better deſign for the ſervice of the *ſex*: Wherein our *author* hath obſerved, to a tittle, the precepts of his maſter Horace;

or, indeed, rather hath gone very far beyond him, in the article of *decency*.

That great *poet*, inſtructing us what actions are fitteſt to be produced openly upon the *ſcene*, and which are moſt proper to be only related to the audience, goeth many lengths beyond the author of the *Lady's dreſſing-room:* For, at the ſame inſtant when he ſaith, ſome actions ſhould not appear as done upon the ſtage, he allows, they may be *recited* with pleaſure and *elegance;* and yet when he cometh to particulars, his recital is extremely groſs, and ſo are his very *precepts* which forbid the actions. Thus if our infinitely more modeſt *author* had imitated his *maſter's ſtyle*, the whole world might, with great appearance of reaſon, have been up in arms againſt him.

Therefore, to ſet theſe two *poets* in a true light, I have ventured, for the ſatisfaction of both ſexes, to tranſlate, as literally as I could, ten lines in Horace upon the very ſame ſubject, which our *author* hath handled with a decency ſo far ſuperior to his Roman maſter.

To juſtify the truth of my tranſlation, I deſire all fine gentlemen and ladies will appeal from me to the information of the learned, that I may be wholly clear from the leaſt cenſure of miſrepreſenting ſo great an authority; for, indeed, if I have been guilty of any fault, it is in palliating the groſs expreſſions in the original, and ſoftening them very much to the *politeneſs* of the *preſent age*.

The

The Latin is word for word as follows:

Aut agitur res ſcenis, aut acta refertur.
Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aurem,
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus, et quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit ſpectator. Non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in ſcenam; multaque tolles
Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præſens.
Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet;
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus.
Aut in avem Progne vertetur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic, incredulus odi.

The literal tranſlation whereof is thus:

Some ladies *do their need* before your face:
Some only tell the *action* and the *place*.
Our mind is leſs provok'd by what it hears,
Than what the fact before our eyes appears.
In cloſet dark, your *cedar-box* be hid;
Not in a parlour ſhewn without the lid.
Some *actions* muſt be always out of ſight,
Yet, *elegantly told*, may give delight.
Nurſe muſt not hold the child, and cry *Eee Hee*,
When Madam and their friends are o'er their tea.
Atreus, with ladies by, miſtakes his wit,
In new-born t——s to run a red-hot ſpit.
Miſs Progne muſt not cry, *A bird, a bird!*
Before good company, and ſhew a t——d.
Cadmus, who voids out worms of monſtrous ſize,
In meer good manners ſhould deceive our eyes;
Muſt do his dirty work behind the ſcene,
And ere he ſhews the *vermin*, wipe them clean.
To bring ſuch odious objects full in view,
Though *fools* may laugh, 'twill make a *wiſe man* ſpue.

I desire the reader will compare the least exceptionable lines in the *Lady's dressing-room*, with the least offensive of these in Horace; although purged by me, as much as could consist with preserving the true sense of the original. Yet this was the great *master of politeness* in the Roman empire, at the time it flourished most in *arts* and *arms*.

Horace, you see, makes use of the plain slovenly words, which our decent Irish *poet* industriously avoideth, and skippeth over a hundred dirty places, without fouling his shoes. Horace, on the contrary, plainly calleth a *spade*, a *spade*, when there was not the least necessity; and when, with equal ease, as well as significancy, he might have expressed his meaning in homely terms, fit for the nicest ears of a *queen* or a *duchess*.

I do therefore positively decide in favour of our Hibernian *bard*, upon the article of *decency*; and am ready to defend my proposition against all mankind: That, in the ten lines of Horace, here faithfully and favourably translated, there are ten times more *slovenly expressions*, than in the whole *poem* called *The Lady's dressing-room*. And for the truth of this proposition, I am ready to appeal to all the young ladies of the kingdom, or to such a *committee* as my very adversaries shall appoint.

The

The ADDRESS of the INHABITANTS of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's, Dublin *.

WE, the inhabitants of the liberty of the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's, Dublin, and the neighbourhood of the ſame, having been informed, by univerſal report, that a certain man of this city hath openly threatened and ſworn, before many hundred people, as well perſons of quality as others, that he reſolves, upon the firſt opportunity, by the help of ſeveral ruffians, to murder or maim the Reverend the Dean of St Patrick's, our neighbour, benefactor, and head of the liberty of St Patrick's, upon a frivolous unproved ſuſpicion, of the ſaid Dean's having written ſome lines in verſe reflecting on the ſaid man.

Therefore we, the ſaid inhabitants of the ſaid liberty, and in the neighbourhood thereof, from our great love and reſpect to the ſaid Dean, to whom the whole kingdom hath ſo many obligations, as well as we of the liberty, do unanimouſly declare, That we will endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the ſaid Dean, againſt the ſaid man, and all his ruffians and murderers, as far as the law will allow; if he, or any of them, preſume to come into the ſaid liberty, with any wicked malicious intent, againſt the houſe, or family, or perſon, or goods of the ſaid Dean. To which

* See an account of the occaſion of this addreſs, and the anſwer, in Dr Swift's life, prefixed to vol. I.

which we have chearfully, ſincerely, and heartily ſet our hands.

The Dean being in bed, very much indiſpoſed, and not able to receive the ſaid perſons, dictated the following anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

I receive, with great thankfulneſs, theſe many kind expreſſions of your concern for my ſafety, as well as your declared reſolution to defend me (as far as the laws of God and man will allow) againſt all murderers and ruffians, who ſhall attempt to enter into the liberty with any bloody or wicked deſigns, upon my life, my limbs, my houſe, or my goods. Gentlemen, my life is in the hands of God; and whether it may be cut off by treachery, or open violence, or by the common way of other men, as long as it continues, I ſhall ever bear a grateful memory for this favour you have ſhewn, beyond my expectation, and almoſt exceeding my wiſhes. The inhabitants of the liberty, as well as thoſe of the neighbourhood, have lived with me in great amity for near twenty years; which I am confident will never diminiſh during my life. I am chiefly ſorry, that, by two cruel diſorders of deafneſs and giddineſs, which have purſued me for four months, I am not in a condition either to hear, or to receive you, much leſs to return my moſt ſincere acknowledgements, which in juſtice and gratitude I ought to do. May God bleſs you and your families in this world, and make you for ever happy in the next.

A

A

LETTER

From the GRAND MISTRESS of the FEMALE FREE MASONS,

To GEORGE FAULKNER, PRINTER.

Ixion, impious, lewd, profane,
Bright Juno woo'd, but woo'd in vain.
Long had he languiſh'd for the dame,
'Till Jove at length, to quench his flame,
Some ſay for fear, ſome ſay for pity,
Sent him a cloud like Juno pretty,
As like as if 'twere drawn by painters,
On which he got a race of Centaurs.
A bite, quoth VENUS.———

A. B. C. lib. 6. p. 107.

SEEING it is of late become a faſhion in town, in writing to all the world, to addreſs to you; our ſociety of *Female Free Maſons* has alſo choſen you for our *Printer;* and ſo, without preface, art, or embelliſhment, (for truth and a ſhort paper needs none of them), our *female lodge* has the whole myſtery as well as any *lodge* in Europe, with proper inſtructions in writing; and, what will ſeem more ſtrange to you, without

out the leaſt taint of *perjury*. By this time any *reader*, who is a *maſon*, will, I know, laugh, and not without indignation. But that matters not much; our ſex has long owed your's this good turn. You refuſed to admit Q. Elizabeth, and even Semiramis Queen of Babylon, though each of them (without *punning*) had a great deal of *male fleſh* upon their bodies: But at laſt you will be forced to own we have it; and thus it was we came by it.

A gentleman, who is a great friend to all our members, who has ſince inſtructed and formed us into a *lodge*, and whom we therefore call our *guardian*, fell in lately with a *lodge of Free Maſons* at Omagh in Ulſter. They preſſed him hard to come into their ſociety, and at length prevailed. They wanted an *Old Teſtament* to ſwear him by. The *inn-keeper's* Bible, having both *Old* and *New* bound up together, would not do: For the *Free Maſons* oath being of much older date than the *New Teſtament*, that is, from the building of Solomon's temple, (for till then it was but a proteſtation well larded over with *curſes* and *execrations*), they are always ſworn on the *Old Teſtament* only. They offer to buy the fellow's *Bible*: He conſents; but finding they were to cut away the *New Teſtament* from the *Old*, concluded them at once a pack of profane wretches, and very piouſly reſcued his *Bible*. This cuſtom of ſwearing on the *Old Teſtament* only, is what has given birth to the vulgar error, That *Free Maſons* renounce

the *New Teſtament*. So they proceed on the reſt of the ceremony, deferring the oath till next morning, one of them having an *Old Teſtament* for the purpoſe, at his houſe hard by. This, it is true, was a heinous blunder againſt the canons of *Free Maſonry*. But the gentlemen were far gone in *punch* and *whiſky*. In ſhort, our friend and preſent guardian is made a *Free*, but *unſworn Maſon*, and was three hours gone on his journey next morning, before the merry *Free Maſons* awoke to ſend for their *Old Teſtament*; and, what was worſe, they had taught him the form of the oath, againſt he was to ſwear in the morning.

Now, as to the ſecret words and ſignals uſed among *Free Maſons*, it is to be obſerved, that in the Hebrew alphabet, (as our guardian has informed our *lodge* in writing), there are four pair of letters, of which each pair is ſo like, that, at firſt view, they ſeem to be the ſame; *Beth* and *Caph*, *Gimel* and *Nun*, *Cheth* and *Thau*, *Daleth* and *Reſch*; and on theſe depend all their ſignals and grips.

Cheth and *Thau* are ſhaped like two ſtanding gallowſes, of two legs each. When two *maſons* accoſt each other, one cries *Cheth*, the other anſwers *Thau*; ſignifying, that they would ſooner be hanged on the gallows than divulge the *ſecret*.

Then again *Beth* and *Caph* are each like a gallows lying on one of the ſide-poſts, and, when uſed as above, imply this pious prayer: *May all*

who reveal the ſecret, *hang upon the gallows till it falls down.* This is their *maſter-ſecret*, generally called the *great word.*

Daleth and *Reſch* are like two half-gallowſes, or a gallows cut in two at the croſs ſtick on top; by which, when pronounced, they intimate to each other, that they would rather be half-hanged, than name either *word* or *ſignal* before any but a *brother*, ſo as to be underſtood.

When one ſays *Gimel*, the other anſwers *Nun*; then the firſt again joining both letters together, repeats three times, *Gimel-Nun, Gimel-Nun, Gimel-Nun*; by which they mean, that they are united as one, in intereſts, ſecrecy, and affection. This laſt word has in time been depraved in the pronunciation, from *Gimel-Nun* to *Gimelum*, and at laſt to *Giblun*, and ſometimes *Giblin*; which word being by ſome accident diſcovered, they now-a-days pretend it is but a *mock-word.*

Another of their words has been maimed in the pronunciation by the illiterate; that is, the letter *Lamech*, which was the *huſh-word*; for, when ſpoke by any *brother* in a *lodge*, it was a warning to the reſt to have a care of liſteners. It is now corruptly pronounced *Lan*; but the *maſons* pretend this alſo is a *mock-word*, for the ſame reaſon as *Giblin.* This play with the Hebrew alphabet is very antiently called the MANABOLETH.

When one *brother* orders another to walk like a *maſon*, he muſt walk four ſteps backwards; four,

four, becauſe of the four pair of letters already mentioned; and backwards, becauſe the Hebrew is writ and read backwards.

As to their *myſterious grips*, they are as follows: If they be in company, where they cannot with ſafety ſpeak the above words, they take each other by the hand; one draws one of the letters of the *Manaboleth* with his finger on the other's hand, which he returns as in ſpeaking.

It is worth obſerving, that a certain *lodge* in town publiſhed ſome time ago a ſheet full of *mock-maſonry*, purely to puzzle and banter the town, with ſeveral falſe ſigns and words, as *Mada*, or *Adam* writ backwards, *Boas*, *Nimrod*, *Jakins*, *Pectoral*, *Guttural*, &c. but not one word of the real ones, as you ſee by what has been ſaid of the MANABOLETH.

After King James VI.'s acceſſion to the throne of England, he revived *maſonry*, of which he was *grand-maſter* both in Scotland and England: It had been entirely ſuppreſſed by Queen Elizabeth, becauſe ſhe could not get into the ſecret. All perſons of quality, after the example of the King, got themſelves admitted *Free Maſons*; but they made a kind of MANABOLETH in Engliſh, in imitation of the true and antient one; as I. O. U. H. a gold key; *I owe you each a gold key*; H. CCCC. his ruin. *Each foreſees his ruin.* I. C. U. B. YY. for me, *I ſee you be too wiſe for me.* And a great deal more of the ſame fooliſh ſtuff, which took its riſe from a ſilly

pun upon the word *Bee;* for you muſt know, That——

——A *bee* has, in all ages and nations, been the grand *hieroglyphic* of *maſonry*, becauſe it excels all other living creatures in the contrivance and commodiouſneſs of its *habitation* or *comb;* as, among many other authors, Dr M'Gregor, now profeſſor of Mathematics in Cambridge, (as our guardian informs us) hath learnedly demonſtrated: Nay, *maſonry* or *building* ſeems to be the very eſſence or nature of the *bee;* for her building not the ordinary way of all other living creatures, is the generative cauſe which produces the young ones; (you know, I ſuppoſe, that bees are of *neither ſex.*)

For this reaſon, the Kings of France, both *Pagans* and *Chriſtians*, always eminent *Free Maſons*, carried three *bees* for their *arms*. But, to avoid the imputation of the Egyptian idolatry of worſhipping a *bee*, Clodovæus, their firſt Chriſtian King, called them *lilies*, or *flower-de-luces;* in which, notwithſtanding the ſmall change made for diſguiſe ſake, there is ſtill the exact figure of a *bee*. You have perhaps read of a great number of golden bees found in the coffin of a *Pagan* King of France near Bruſſels, many ages after CHRIST, which he had ordered ſhould be buried with him, in token of his having been a *maſon*.

The Egyptians, always excellent and antient *Free Maſons*, paid divine worſhip to a *bee*, under the outward ſhape of a *bull*, the better to conceal the

the myſtery; which *bull*, by them called *Apis*, is the Latin word for a *bee*. The *ænigma* repreſenting the *bee* by a *bull*, conſiſts in this, That, according to the doctrine of the *Pythagorean lodge* of *Free Maſons*, the ſouls of all the *cow-kind* tranſmigrate into bees; as one Virgil, a poet much in favour with the Emperor Auguſtus, becauſe of his profound ſkill in *maſonry*, has deſcribed; and Mr Dryden has thus *ſhowed*:

——————————Ariſtæus

Four altars raiſes; from his herd he culls
For ſlaughter four the faireſt of his *bulls*,
Four heifers from his female ſtore he took,
All fair, and all unknowing of the yoke;
Nine mornings thence, with ſacrifice and *pray'rs*,
The gods invok'd, he to the grove repairs.
Behold a prodigy! for from within
The broken bowels and the bloated ſkin,
A buzzing noiſe of bees his ears alarms;
Straight iſſue thro' the ſides aſſembling ſwarms, *&c.*

What *modern maſons* call a *lodge*, was, for the above reaſons, by antiquity, called a HIVE of *Free Maſons*: And, for the ſame reaſons, when a diſſenſion happens in a *lodge*, the going off, and forming another *lodge*, is to this day called SWARMING.

Our guardian is of opinion, that the preſent *maſonry* is ſo tarniſhed by the ignorance of the working and ſome other illiterate *maſons*, that very many, even whole *lodges*, fall under the

cenſure of the venerable Chineſe *brachman*, whoſe hiſtory of the riſe, progreſs, and decay of *Free Maſonry*, writ in the Chineſe tongue, is lately tranſlated into a certain European language. This Chineſe ſage ſays, the greateſt part of current *maſons* judge of the myſteries and uſe of that ſacred art, juſt as a man, perfectly illiterate, judges of an excellent book; in which, when opened to him, he finds no other beauties, than the regular uniformity in every page, the exactneſs of the lines in length and equi-diſtance, and blackneſs of the *ink*, and whiteneſs of the paper; or, as the famous Britiſh *Free Maſon*, MERLIN, ſays of the ſtars in the firmament, when viewed by a *child*, *&c.* But I ſhall not trouble you with the length of a quotation at preſent, becauſe Merlin and Friar Bacon on *Free Maſonry*, are ſoon to be dreſſed up in modern Engliſh, and ſold by our printer Mr Faulkner, if duly encouraged by ſubſcribers; and alſo a key to *Raymundus Lullius*, without whoſe help, our guardian ſays, it is impoſſible to come at the quinteſſence of *Free Maſonry*.

But ſome will perhaps object, How came your unſworn guardian by this refined and uncommon knowledge in the great art? To which I anſwer, That

The branch of the *lodge* of Solomon's temple, afterwards called *The lodge of St John of Jeruſalem*, on which our guardian fortunately hit, is, as I can eaſily prove, the ancienteſt and pureſt now

on

on earth; from whence came the famous old Scottiſh *lodge* of *Kilwinning*, of which all the kings of Scotland have been from time to time grand maſters, without interruption, down from the days of Fergus, who reigned there more than two thouſand years ago, long before the knights of St John of Jeruſalem, or the knights of Malta; to which two *lodges* I muſt nevertheleſs allow the honour of having adorned the ancient Jewiſh and Pagan *maſonry* with many religious and Chriſtian rules.

Fergus being eldeſt ſon to the chief king of Ireland, was carefully inſtructed in all the arts and ſciences, eſpecially in the natural magic, and the cabaliſtical philoſophy, (afterwards called the *Roſicruſian*), by the Pagan Druids of Ireland and Mona, the only true *cabaliſts* then extant in the *weſtern* world. (For they had it immediately from the Phœnicians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, which I, though but a woman, can prove.) The Egyptians probably had it immediately from Abraham, as the ſcripture plainly hints in the life of that patriarch; and it is allowed, I am told, by men of learning, that the *occult*, as well as *moral* philoſophy of all the Pagans, was well beſprinkled and enriched from the cabaliſtical ſchool of the patriarchs, and afterwards by the *Talmudiſts*, and other inferior *Rabbins*, though the prevailing idolatry of thoſe days much depraved and vitiated it.

Fergus, before his deſcent upon the Picts in Scotland, raiſed that famous ſtructure, called to this

this day *Carrick-Fergus*, after his name, the moſt myſterious piece of architecture now on earth, (not excepting the pyramids of the Egyptian maſons, and their *hieroglyphics*, or *Free Maſons* ſigns;) as any ſkilful *Free Maſon* may eaſily perceive, by examining it according to the rules of the art. He built it as a *lodge* for his college of *Free Maſons*, in thoſe days called *Druids*; which word, our guardian aſſures us, ſignifies an *oak* in the Greek language, becauſe *oak* is one of the beſt timber trees for building, of which (eſpecially the marine architecture) the *Druids* were the only maſters, though your modern term of *maſon* implies no more than a worker in ſtone; erroneouſly enough indeed, or at leaſt far ſhort of the true and ancient term of *Druid*; ſince the marine architecture, the moſt uſeful branch of the ſacred art, correſponds naturally and perfectly with the word *Druid*, or *worker* in *oak*, and hath nothing at all to do with ſtones of any kind; till Jaſon, a famous *Druid*, or *Free Maſon*, uſed the *loadſtone*, when he went in queſt of the *golden fleece*, as it is called in the enigmatical terms of *Free Maſonry*, or, more properly ſpeaking, of the *cabala*, as *maſonry* was called in thoſe days. The uſe of the *loadſtone* was then, and long after, kept as ſecret as any of the other myſteries of the art, till, by the unanimous conſent of all the great *lodges*, the uſe of it was made public, for the common benefit of mankind. Jaſon's artificial *frog* had it fixed in his mouth; and having a free ſwing in an oaken bowl, half filled with water,

ter, always faced the *North* pole; which gave riſe to the poetical fable, that Jaſon's frog was a *little familiar*, or *ſea demon*, preſiding over the navigation, like any other angel-guardian; for *Free Maſons*, in all ages, as well as now, have been looked upon to deal with *ſprites* or *demons*. And hence came that imputation which they have in many nations lain under, of being *conjurers*, or *magicians*; witneſs Merlin and Friar Bacon.

It is perhaps further worth remarking, that Jaſon took one of the two ſacred vocal *oaks* of the grove of Dodona, to make the keel of the *Argos*, for ſo his ſhip was called; myſteriouſly joining together *architecture* or *maſonry*, and the *Druidical* prieſthood, or power of explaining the oracles. For our guardian will have it ſo, that the Pagan prieſthood was always in the *druids* or *maſons*, and that there was a perceivable glimmering of the Jewiſh *rites* in it, though much corrupted, as I ſaid; that the Pagan worſhip was chiefly in groves of *oak*; that they always looked upon the *oak* as ſacred to Jupiter; which notion is countenanced (making allowance for the Paganiſm) by the *patriarchs*; for you ſee in Geneſis, that Abraham ſacrificed under the *oaks* of Mamre. Joſhua indeed took a great ſtone, and put it up under the *oak*; emblematically joining the two great elements of *maſonry*, to raiſe an altar for the LORD.

Our guardian alſo ſays, that Cæſar's deſcription of the *Druids* of Gaul, is as exact a picture of a *lodge* of *Free Maſons* as can poſſibly be drawn.

His

His reaſons for the *Manaboleth* are the better worth diſcovering, for that I believe there are even ſome *maſons* who know nothing of it, *viz.* That it hath been an ancient practice among the *cabaliſtic philoſophers*, to make every Hebrew letter a *hieroglyphic*, myſterious in its figure above all other letters, as being thus ſhaped and formed by the immediate directions of the *Almighty*, whereas all other LETTERS are of *human invention*.

Secondly, That the *Manaboleth* has a very cloſe and unconſtrained analogy with *maſonry* or *architecture*; for that every letter of the Hebrew alphabet, as alſo of the Syriac, Chaldaic, and Iriſh alphabets, derived from it, have their names from *timber-trees*, except ſome few which have their names from *ſtones*; and I think it is pretty plain, that *timber* and *ſtone* are as much the elements of *maſonry*, as the alphabet is of books; which is a near relation enough between *architecture* and *learning* of all kinds, and naturally ſhews why the *Druids*, who took their title from a tree, kept *learning* and *architecture* jointly within themſelves.

Next week ſhall be publiſhed, the *Free Maſons* oath, with the remarks upon it of a young *clergyman*, who has petitioned to be admitted *chaplain* to our *lodge*, which is to be kept at Mrs Prater's female coffee-houſe, every Tueſday, from nine in the morning to twelve, and the tenth day of every month in the year; where all ladies of true hearts, and ſound morals, ſhall be admitted without ſwearing.

I think it proper to inſert the *Free Maſons* SONG, commonly ſung at this meeting; though, by the bye, it is of as little ſignification as the reſt of their ſecrets. It was writ by one Anderſon, as our guardian informs me, juſt to put a good gloſs on the myſtery, as you may ſee by the words.

S O N G.

I.

COME let us prepare,
We Brothers that are
Aſſembled on merry occaſion;
Let's drink, laugh, and ſing,
Our wine has a ſpring;
Here's a health to an Accepted MASON.

II.

The world is in pain
Our ſecrets to gain,
And ſtill let them wonder and gaze on;
They ne'er can divine
The word or the ſign
Of a Free and an Accepted MASON.

III.

'Tis this, and 'tis that,
They cannot tell what,
Why ſo many great men of the nation
Should aprons put on,
To make themſelves one
With a Free and an Accepted MASON.

IV.

IV.

Great Kings, Dukes, and Lords,
Have laid by their ſwords,
Our myſt'ry to put a good grace on,
And ne'er been aſham'd
To hear themſelves nam'd
With a Free and an Accepted MASON.

V.

Antiquity's pride
We have on our ſide,
And it maketh men juſt in their ſtation;
There's nought but what's good
To be underſtood
By a Free and an Accepted MASON.

VI.

Then join hand in hand,
To each other firm ſtand;
Let's be merry, and put a bright face on.
What mortal can boaſt
So noble a toaſt,
As a Free and an Accepted MASON.

POSTSCRIPT.

MR FAULKNER,

Our *Lodge* unanimouſly deſire you will give their ſincere reſpects to your *ingenious* DRAPIER, to whoſe *pen* we, as well as the reſt of the nation, own ourſelves obliged. If he be not already a *Free Maſon*, he ſhall be welcome to be our *deputy-guardian*.

Your humble ſervant,

THALESTRIS.

Tſrif eht Tſugua Nilbud.

THE LAST WILL OF DR. SWIFT, Dean of St Patrick's in Dublin *.

IN the name of God, *Amen.* I JONATHAN SWIFT, Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, being at this preſent of ſound mind, although weak in body, do here make my Laſt Will and Teſtament, hereby revoking all my former wills.

* Swift's Will, like all his other writings, is drawn up in his own peculiar manner. Even in ſo ſerious a compoſition, he cannot help indulging himſelf, in leaving legacies that carry with them an air of raillery and jeſt. He diſpoſes of his three hats (his beſt, his ſecond beſt, and his third beſt beaver) with an ironical ſolemnity, that renders the bequeſts ridiculous. He bequeaths "to Mr John Grattan a ſilver box," &c. [p. 357.] But his legacy to Mr Robert Grattan is ſtill more extraordinary. "*Item*, I bequeath to the Reverend Mr Robert Grat-"tan," &c. [p. 357.] Theſe are ſo many laſting impreſſions of his turn, and way of thinking; and I dare ſay, the perſons thus diſtinguiſhed, look upon theſe inſtances, as affectionate memorials of his friendſhip, and as tokens of the jocoſe manner in which he had treated them during his lifetime. *Orrery.*

Imprimis, I bequeath my ſoul to God, (in humble hopes of his mercy thro' Jeſus Chriſt), and my body to the earth. And I deſire, that my body may be buried in the great iſle of the ſaid Cathedral, on the ſouth ſide, under the pillar next to the monument of Primate Narciſſus Marſh *, three days after my deceaſe, as privately as poſſible, and at twelve o'clock at night; and that a black marble of feet ſquare, and ſeven feet from the ground, fixed to the wall, may be erected, with the following inſcription in large letters, deeply cut, and ſtrongly gilded †:

HIC DEPOSITVM EST CORPVS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
HVIVS ECCLESIÆ CATHEDRALIS DECANI,
VBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
VLTERIVS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI, VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENVVM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIIT ANNO [MDCCXLV.]
MENSIS [OCTOBRIS] DIE [19.]
ÆTATIS ANNO [LXXVIII.]

Item,

* See his character, vol. x. p. 391.

† His monumental inſcription, written by himſelf, may confirm to you the obſervation which I formerly made in vol. viii. p. 6. that he was not an elegant writer of Latin. An harſher epitaph has ſeldom been compoſed. It is ſcarce intelligible; and, if intelligible, is a proof how difficult a taſk it is, even for the greateſt genius, to draw his own character, or to repreſent himſelf and his actions in a proper manner to poſterity. *Orrery.*

Item, I give and bequeath to my executors, all my worldly ſubſtance, of what nature or kind ſoever, (excepting ſuch part thereof as is herein after particularly deviſed), for the following uſes and purpoſes: That is to ſay, to the intent that they, or the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, his executors, or adminiſtrators, as ſoon as conveniently may be after my death, ſhall turn it all into ready money, and lay out the ſame in purchaſing lands of inheritance in fee-ſimple, ſituate in any province of Ireland, except Connaught, but as near to the city of Dublin as conveniently can be found, and not incumbered with, or ſubject to any leaſes for lives renewable, or any terms for years longer than thirty-one. And I deſire, that a yearly annuity of twenty pounds Sterling, out of the annual profits of ſuch lands, when purchaſed, and out of the yearly income of my ſaid fortune, deviſed to my executors as aforeſaid, until ſuch purchaſe ſhall be made, ſhall be paid to Rebecca Dingley of the city of Dublin, ſpinſter, during her life, by two equal half-yearly payments, on the feaſts of All-ſaints, and St Philip and St Jacob; the firſt payment to be made on ſuch of the ſaid feaſts as ſhall happen next after my death. And that the reſidue of the yearly profits of the ſaid lands, when purchaſed, and, until ſuch purchaſe be made, the reſidue of the yearly income and intereſt of my ſaid fortune, deviſed as aforeſaid to my executors, ſhall be laid out in purchaſing a piece of land, ſituate near Dr

Steven's hoſpital; or, if it cannot be there had, ſomewhere in or near the city of Dublin, large enough for the purpoſes herein after mentioned, and in building thereon an hoſpital large enough for the reception of as many idiots and lunatics as the annual income of the ſaid lands and worldly ſubſtance ſhall be ſufficient to maintain. And I deſire, that the ſaid hoſpital may be called ST PATRICK'S HOSPITAL, and may be built in ſuch a manner, that another building may be added unto it, in caſe the endowment thereof ſhould be enlarged; ſo that the additional building may make the whole edifice regular and complete. And my further will and deſire is, that, when the ſaid hoſpital ſhall be built, the whole yearly income of the ſaid lands and eſtate ſhall, for ever after, be laid out in providing victuals, cloathing, medicines, attendance, and all other neceſſaries, for ſuch idiots and lunatics as ſhall be received into the ſame; and in repairing and enlarging the building from time to time, as there may be occaſion. And, if a ſufficient number of idiots and lunatics cannot readily be found, I deſire that incurables may be taken into the ſaid hoſpital, to ſupply ſuch deficiency; but that no perſon ſhall be admitted into it, that labours under any infectious diſeaſe: And that all ſuch idiots, lunatics, and incurables, as ſhall be received into the ſaid hoſpital, ſhall conſtantly live and reſide therein, as well in the night as the day; and that the ſalaries of agents, receivers, officers, ſervants,

and

and attendants, to be employed in the buſineſs of the ſaid hoſpital, ſhall not in the whole exceed one fifth part of the clear yearly income or revenue thereof. And I further deſire, that my executors, the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, or the heirs of ſuch, ſhall not have power to demiſe any part of the ſaid lands ſo to be purchaſed as aforeſaid, but with conſent of the Lord Primate, the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, the Dean of Chriſt-church, the Dean of St Patrick's, the Phyſician to the State, and the Surgeon-general, all for the time being, or the greater part of them, under their hands in writing; and that no leaſes of any part of the ſaid lands ſhall ever be made, other than leaſes for years not exceeding thirty-one, in poſſeſſion, and not in reverſion or remainder, and not diſpuniſhable of waſte, whereon ſhall be reſerved the beſt and moſt improved rents that can reaſonably and moderately, without racking the tenants, be gotten for the ſame, without fine. Provided always, and it is my will and earneſt deſire, that no leaſe of any part of the ſaid lands, ſo to be purchaſed as aforeſaid, ſhall ever be made to, or in truſt for, any perſon any way concerned in the execution of this truſt; or to, or in truſt for any perſon any way related or allied, either by conſanguinity or affinity, to any of the perſons who ſhall at that time be concerned in the execution of this truſt: And that if any leaſes ſhall happen to be made contrary to my intention above expreſſed, the

ſame ſhall be utterly void, and of no effect. And I further deſire, until the charter herein after mentioned be obtained, my executors, or the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, his heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, ſhall not act in the execution of this truſt, but with the conſent and approbation of the ſaid ſeven additional truſtees, or the greater part of them, under their hands in writing; and ſhall, with ſuch conſent and approbation as aforeſaid, have power, from time to time, to make rules, orders, and regulations, for the government and direction of the ſaid hoſpital. And I make it my requeſt to my ſaid executors, that they may, in convenient time, apply to his Majeſty, for a charter to incorporate them, or ſuch of them as ſhall be then living, and the ſaid additional truſtees, for the better management and conduct of this charity, with a power to purchaſe lands; and to ſupply by election ſuch vacancies happening in the corporation as ſhall not be ſupplied by ſucceſſion; and ſuch other powers as may be thought expedient for the due execution of this truſt, according to my intention herein before expreſſed. And when ſuch charter ſhall be obtained, I deſire, that my executors, or the ſurvivors or ſurvivor of them, or the heirs of ſuch ſurvivor, may convey to the uſe of ſuch corporation in fee-ſimple, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, all ſuch lands and tenements as ſhall be purchaſed in manner above mentioned. Provided always, and it is my will and intention, that

that my executors, until the ſaid charter, and afterwards the corporation to be hereby incorporated, ſhall, out of the yearly profits of the ſaid lands, when purchaſed, and out of the yearly income of my ſaid fortune, deviſed to my executors as aforeſaid, until ſuch purchaſe be made, have power to reimburſe themſelves for all ſuch ſums of their own money as they ſhall neceſſarily expend in the execution of this truſt; and that, until the ſaid charter be obtained, all acts which ſhall at any time be done, in execution of this truſt, by the greater part of my executors then living, with the conſent of the greater part of the ſaid additional truſtees, under their hands in writing, ſhall be as valid and effectual, as if all my executors had concurred in the ſame.

Item, Whereas I purchaſed the inheritance of the tithes of the pariſh of Effernock near Trim, in the county of Meath, for two hundred and ſixty pounds Sterling, I bequeath the ſaid tithes to the vicars of Laracor for the time being; that is to ſay, ſo long as the preſent Epiſcopal religion ſhall continue to be the national eſtabliſhed faith and profeſſion in this kingdom; but, whenever any other form of Chriſtian religion ſhall become the eſtabliſhed faith in this kingdom, I leave the ſaid tithes of Effernock to be beſtowed, as the profits come in, to the poor of the ſaid pariſh of Laracor, by a weekly proportion, and by ſuch officers as may then have the power of diſtributing charities to the poor of the ſaid pariſh, while Chriſtianity,

ſtianity, under any ſhape, ſhall be tolerated among us, ſtill excepting profeſſed *Jews*, *Atheiſts*, and *Infidels*.

Item, Whereas I have ſome leaſes of certain houſes in Kevin's-ſtreet, near the Deanry-houſe, built upon the Dean's ground, and one other houſe now inhabited by Henry Land *, in Deanry-lane, alias Mitre-alley, ſome of which leaſes are let for forty-one years, or forty at leaſt, and not yet half expired, I bequeath to Mrs Martha Whiteway, my leaſe or leaſes of the ſaid houſes. I alſo bequeath to the ſaid Martha, my leaſe of forty years of Goodman's Holding, for which I receive ten pounds *per annum*; which are two houſes, or more, lately built. I bequeath alſo to the ſaid Martha, the ſum of three hundred pounds Sterling, to be paid her by my executors out of my ready money, or bank-bills, immediately after my death, as ſoon as the executors meet. I leave, moreover, to the ſaid Martha, my repeating gold watch, my yellow tortoiſe-ſhell ſnuff-box, and her choice of four gold rings, out of ſeven which I now poſſeſs.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Mary Swift, alias Harriſon, daughter of the ſaid Martha, my plain gold watch made by Quare; to whom alſo I give my Japan writing-deſk, beſtowed to me by my Lady Worſely; my ſquare tortoiſe-ſhell ſnuff-box, richly lined and inlaid with gold, given to me by the Right Honourable Henrietta now Counteſs of Oxford;

* Sexton of St Patrick's cathedral.

Oxford; and the ſeal, with a Pegaſus, given to me by the Counteſs of Granville.

Item, I bequeath to Mr Folliot Whiteway, eldeſt ſon of the aforeſaid Martha, who is bred to be an attorney, the ſum of ſixty pounds, as alſo five pounds to be laid out in the purchaſe of ſuch law-books, as the Honourable Mr Juſtice Lindſay, Mr Stannard *, or Mr M'Aulay †, ſhall judge proper for him.

Item, I bequeath to Mr John Whiteway, youngeſt ſon of the ſaid Martha, who is to be brought up a ſurgeon, the ſum of one hundred pounds, in order to qualify him for a ſurgeon, but under the direction of his mother; which ſaid ſum of one hundred pounds is to be paid to Mrs Whiteway, in behalf of her ſaid ſon John, out of the arrears which ſhall be due to me from my church livings, (except thoſe of the Deanry-tithes, which are now let to the Reverend Dr Wilſon), as ſoon as the ſaid arrears can be paid to my executors. I alſo leave the ſaid John five pounds, to be laid out in buying ſuch phyſical and chirurgical books, as Dr Grattan, and Mr Nichols ‡, ſhall think fit for him.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Anne Ridgeway ‖, now

* Eaton Stannard, Eſq; Recorder of the city of Dublin. See conſiderations—concerning the choice of a Recorder, in vol. iv. p. 374.

† Alexander M'Aulay, Eſq; counſellor at law, and made judge of the conſiſtorial court, Nov. 1745.

‡ John Nichols, Eſq; ſurgeon-general.

‖ Daughter to Mrs Brent, and who for many years had been his faithful domeſtic friend.

now in my family, the profits of the leaſe of the two houſes let to John Cownly, for forty years, of which only eight or nine are expired, for which the ſaid Cownly payeth me nine pounds Sterling for rent yearly. I alſo bequeath to the ſaid Anne, the ſum of one hundred pounds Sterling, to be paid her by my executors in ſix weeks after my deceaſe, out of whatever money or bank-bills I may poſſeſs when I die; as alſo three gold rings, the remainder of the ſeven above-mentioned, after Mrs Whiteway hath made her choice of four; and all my ſmall pieces of plate, not exceeding in weight one ounce and one third part of an ounce.

Item, I bequeath to my deareſt friend Alexander Pope of Twittenham, Eſq; * my picture in miniature, drawn by Zinck, of Robert late Earl of Oxford.

Item, I leave to Edward, now Earl of Oxford, my ſeal of Julius Cæſar; as alſo another ſeal, ſuppoſed to be a young Hercules; both very choice antiques, and ſet in gold: Both which I chuſe to beſtow to the ſaid Earl, becauſe they belonged to her moſt excellent Majeſty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, immortal, and truly pious memory, the real nurſing-mother of all her kingdoms.

Item, I leave to the Reverend Mr James Stopford, Vicar of Finglas, my picture of K. Charles I. drawn

* Mr Pope did not live to receive his legacy, having died May 30. 1744.

drawn by Vandike, which was given to me by the ſaid James; as alſo my large picture of birds, which was given to me by Thomas Earl of Pembroke.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Mr Robert Grattan, Prebendary of St Audeon's, my gold bottle-ſcrew, which he gave me, and my ſtrong box, on condition of his giving the ſole uſe of the ſaid box to his brother Doctor James Grattan, during the life of the ſaid Doctor, who hath more occaſion for it, and the ſecond beſt beaver hat I ſhall die poſſeſſed of.

Item, I bequeath to Mr John Grattan, Prebendary of Clonmethan, my ſilver box, in which the freedom of the city of Corke was preſented to me; in which I deſire the ſaid John to keep the tobacco he uſually chewed, called *pigtail*.

Item, I bequeath all my horſes and mares to the Reverend Mr John Jackſon, Vicar of Santry, together with all my horſe-furniture; lamenting that I had not credit enough with any chief governor (ſince the change of times) to get ſome additional church-preferment for ſo virtuous and worthy a gentleman. I alſo leave him my third beſt beaver hat.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Dr Francis Wilſon, the works of Plato in three folio volumes, the Earl of Clarendon's hiſtory in three folio volumes, and my beſt Bible; together with thirteen ſmall Perſian pictures in the drawing-room, and the ſmall ſilver tankard given to me

by

by the contribution of ſome friends, whoſe names are engraved at the bottom of the ſaid tankard.

Item, I bequeath to the Earl of Orrery *, the enamelled ſilver plates to diſtinguiſh bottles of wine by, given to me by his excellent Lady, and the half-length picture of the late Counteſs of Orkney in the drawing-room.

Item, I bequeath to Alexander M'Aulay, Eſq; the gold box in which the freedom of the city of Dublin was preſented to me, as a teſtimony of the eſteem and love I have for him, on account of his great learning, fine natural parts, unaffected piety, and benevolence, and his truly honourable zeal in defence of the legal rights of the clergy, in oppoſition to all their unprovoked oppreſſors.

Item, I bequeath to Deane Swift, Eſq; † my large ſilver ſtandiſh, conſiſting of a large ſilver plate, an ink-pot, a ſand box, and bell of the ſame metal.

Item, I bequeath to Mrs Mary Barber, the medal of Queen Anne and Prince George, which ſhe formerly gave me.

Item, I leave to the Reverend Mr John Worral ‡, my beſt beaver hat.

* Author of the *Remarks on the life and writings of Dr Swift*, publiſhed in 1752.

† Author of the *Eſſay on the life, writings, and character of Dr Swift*, publiſhed in 1755.

‡ Vicar to the Dean of Chriſt-church, and maſter of both choirs. He was a foundling; for which reaſon Swift uſed to call

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Dr Patrick Delany *, my medal of Queen Anne in ſilver, and on the reverſe the Biſhops of England kneeling before her Moſt Sacred Majeſty.

Item, I bequeath to the Reverend Mr James King, Prebendary of Tipper, my large gilded medal of King Charles I. and on the reverſe a crown of martyrdom, with other devices. My will nevertheleſs is, that, if any of the above-

call him *Melchiſedek*. Though he was not a man of an improved underſtanding, nor a man of humour, yet he was a good walker, ever in the way, and always at the command of Dr Swift. His wife, a neat, clean looking woman in her dreſs, underſtood the buſineſs of marketing perfectly well; had ſtudied what the Dean liked, and if the markets afforded any thing nice, when the Dean's ſtomach, as years came on, began to be in ſome meaſure weak and capricious, ſhe conſtantly bought it for him, and ſent it home to the deanry. From a principle of wiſdom, taking the world as he found it, no man ever ſtudied more than Swift did, to reduce every man's talents to his own particular gratification. He could feaſt upon the delicacies of wit and learning, when they happened to fall in his way; and at other times be content with plain common entertainment. He could laugh, and drink a bottle with Sheridan over night; and the next morning walk into the fields, and prattle to Worral. Perhaps there never was a man equally deſirous with Dr Swift, to have a companion always at his beck, of ſome ſort or other; and, without diſpute, throughout all Dublin he could not have fixed upon another ſo exactly calculated to receive his commands, and eſpecially to attend him in his morning exerciſe, as Mr Worral. He died ſome time after the Dean, worth a good deal of money; 500l. of which his executors appropriated to the Doctor's hoſpital, and 500l. each to the other hoſpitals. *Swift*.

* The ſame to whom the Dean addreſſes ſeveral copies of verſes in vol. viii. and of whom he gives an excellent character.

named legatees ſhould die before me, that then, and in that caſe, the reſpective legacies to them bequeathed, ſhall revert to myſelf, and become again ſubject to my diſpoſal.

Item, Whereas I have the leaſe of a field in truſt for me, commonly called the *Vineyard*, let to the Reverend Dr Francis Corbet, and the truſt declared by the ſaid Doctor; the ſaid field, with ſome land on this ſide of the road, making in all about three acres, for which I pay yearly to the Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's ***.

Whereas I have built a ſtrong wall round the ſaid piece of ground, eight or nine feet high, faced to the ſouth aſpect with brick, which coſt me above ſix hundred pounds Sterling; and likewiſe another piece of ground, as aforeſaid, of half an acre, adjoining to the burial-place, called the *Cabbage-garden*, now tenanted by William White gardener; my will is, that the ground incloſed by the great wall may be ſold for the remainder of the leaſe, at the higheſt price my executors can get for it, in belief and hopes, that the ſaid price will exceed three hundred pounds at the loweſt value. For which my ſucceſſor in the deanry ſhall have the firſt refuſal; and it is my earneſt deſire, that the ſucceeding deans and chapters may preſerve the ſaid *vineyard*, and piece of land adjoining, where the ſaid White now liveth, ſo as to be always in the hands of the ſucceeding deans, during their office, by each dean leſſening one-fourth of the purchaſe-money to each

each ſucceeding dean, and for no more than the preſent rent.

And I appoint the Honourable Robert Lindſay *, one of the judges of the court of common pleas; Henry Singleton, Eſq; Prime Serjeant to his Majeſty; the Reverend Dr Patrick Delany, Chancellor of St Patrick's; the Reverend Dr Francis Wilſon, Prebendary of Kilmacktolway; Eaton Stannard, Eſq; Recorder of the city of Dublin; the Reverend Mr Robert Grattan, Prebendary of St Audeon's; the Reverend Mr John Grattan, Prebendary of Clonmethan; the Reverend Mr James Stopford, Vicar of Finglas; the Reverend Mr James King, Prebendary of Tipper; and Alexander M'Aulay, Eſq; my executors.

In witneſs whereof, I have hereunto ſet my hand and ſeal, and publiſhed and declared this as my laſt will and teſtament, this third day of May, 1740.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

Signed, ſealed, and publiſhed by the above-named Jonathan Swift, in the preſence of us, who have ſubſcribed our names in his preſence.

Jo. Wynne.
Jo. Rochfort.
William Dunkin.

* See a poem wrote by this gentleman intituled, *A dialogue between a Lawyer and Dr Swift*, in vol. ix. p. 184.

Two Letters to the Earl of Orrery, deſcribing the melancholy ſituation of Dr Swift's health and underſtanding.

I. Mrs Martha Whiteway's * Letter.

My Lord, *Dublin, Nov.* 22. 1742.

THE eaſy manner in which you reproach me for not acquainting you with the poor Dean's ſituation, lays a freſh obligation upon me; yet mean as an excuſe is for a fault, I ſhall attempt one to your Lordſhip; and only for this reaſon, that you may not think me capable of neglecting any thing you could command me. I told you in my laſt letter, the Dean's underſtanding was quite gone, and I feared the farther particulars would only ſhock the tenderneſs of your nature, and the melancholy ſcene make your heart ach, as it has often done mine. I was the laſt perſon whom he knew; and when that part of his memory failed, he was ſo outrageous at ſeeing any body, that I was forced to leave him, nor could he reſt for a night or two after ſeeing any perſon: So that all the attendance which I could pay him was, calling twice a-week to enquire

* The Lady mentioned in ſeveral of Swift's letters, and in his will, in p. 392. of this volume.

quire after his health, and to obſerve that proper care was taken of him, and durſt only look at him while his back was towards me, fearing to diſcompoſe him. He walked ten hours a-day, would not eat or drink if his ſervant ſtaid in the room. His meat was ſerved up ready cut, and ſometimes it would lie an hour on the table before he would touch it, and then eat it walking. About ſix weeks ago, in one night's time, his left eye ſwelled as large as an egg, and the lid, Mr Nichols (his ſurgeon) thought would mortify, and many large boils appeared upon his arms and body. The torture he was in, is not to be deſcribed. Five perſons could ſcarce hold him for a week, from tearing out his own eyes; and, for near a month, he did not ſleep two hours in twenty-four: Yet a moderate appetite continued; and what is more to be wondered at, the laſt day of his illneſs, he knew me perfectly well, took me by the hand, called me by my name, and ſhewed the ſame pleaſure as uſual in ſeeing me. I aſked him if he would give me a dinner? He ſaid, to be ſure, my old friend. Thus he continued that day, and knew the doctor and ſurgeon, and all his family ſo well, that Mr Nichols thought it poſſible he might return to a ſhare of underſtanding, ſo as to be able to call for what he wanted, and to bear ſome of his old friends to amuſe him. But, alas! this pleaſure to me was but of ſhort duration; for the next day or two it was all over, and proved

to be only pain that had rouſed him. He is now free from torture; his eye almoſt well; very quiet, and begins to ſleep; but cannot, without great difficulty, be prevailed on to walk a turn about his room: And yet, in this way, the phyſicians think he may hold out for ſome time. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

M. WHITEWAY.

What a ſhocking, what a melancholy account is this! Of how ſmall eſtimation muſt the greateſt genius appear in the ſight of God!

II. Mr DEANE SWIFT's * LETTER.

MY LORD, *Dublin, April* 4. 1744.

AS to the ſtory of *O poor old man!* I enquired into it. The Dean did ſay ſomething upon his ſeeing himſelf in the glaſs; but neither Mrs Ridgeway, nor the lower ſervants, could tell me what it was he ſaid. I deſired them to recollect it, by the time when I ſhould come again to the deanry. I have been there ſince,

* Author of the *Eſſay on the life, character,* &c. *of Dr Swift.*

ſince, they cannot recollect it. A thouſand ſtories have been invented of him within theſe two years, and impoſed upon the world. I thought this might have been one of them: And yet I am now inclined to think there may be ſome truth in it: For on Sunday the 17th of March, as he ſat in his chair, upon the houſekeeper's moving a knife from him as he was going to catch at it, he ſhrugged his ſhoulders, and rocking himſelf, ſaid, *I am what I am, I am what I am:* And about ſix minutes afterwards, repeated the ſame words two or three times over.

His ſervant ſhaves his cheeks, and all his face as low as the tip of his chin, once a-week: But under the chin, and about the throat, when the hair grows long, it is cut with ſciſſars.

Sometimes he will not utter a ſyllable; at other times he will ſpeak incoherent words; but he never yet, as far as I could hear, talked nonſenſe, or ſaid a fooliſh thing.

About four months ago he gave me great trouble: He ſeemed to have a-mind to talk to me. In order to try what he would ſay, I told him, I came to dine with him; and immediately his houſekeeper Mrs Ridgeway, ſaid, "Won't you give Mr Swift a glaſs of wine, Sir?" He ſhrugged his ſhoulders, juſt as he uſed to do when he had a-mind that a friend ſhould ſpend the evening with him. Shrugging his ſhoulders, your Lordſhip may remember, was as much as to ſay,

"You'll

" You'll ruin me in wine." I own I was ſcarce able to bear the ſight. Soon after, he again endeavoured, with a good deal of pain, to find words to ſpeak to me: At laſt not being able, after many efforts, he gave a heavy ſigh, and, I think, was afterwards ſilent. This puts me in mind of what he ſaid about five days ago. He endeavoured ſeveral times to ſpeak to his ſervant, (now and then calls him by his name); at laſt, not finding words to expreſs what he would be at, after ſome uneaſineſs, he ſaid, " I am a fool." Not long ago, the ſervant took up his watch that lay upon the table to ſee what o'clock it was; he ſaid, " bring it here;" and when it was brought, he looked very attentively at it. Some time ago, the ſervant was breaking a large ſtubborn coal; he ſaid, " That's a ſtone, you blockhead."

In a few days, or ſome very ſhort time after guardians had been appointed for him, I went into his dining-room, where he was walking; I ſaid ſomething to him very inſignificant, I know not what; but, inſtead of making any kind of anſwer to it, he ſaid, " Go, go," pointing with his hand to the door; and immediately afterwards, raiſing his hand to his head, he ſaid, " My beſt underſtanding;" and ſo broke off abruptly, and walked away. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant,

DEANE SWIFT.

An

An Account of the ſituation of Dr SWIFT's health and mind, from 1739 to his death, at the latter end of October 1745; with a DISSERTATION on LUNACY and IDIOTISM:

By the EARL of ORRERY.

THE total deprivation of Dr Swift's ſenſes came upon him by degrees. In the year 1736, I remember him ſeized with a violent fit of giddineſs. He was at that time writing a ſatirical poem, called *The legion-club*; but he found the effects of his giddineſs ſo dreadful, that he left the poem unfiniſhed; and never afterwards attempted a compoſition of any length, either in verſe or proſe. However, his converſation ſtill remained the ſame, lively and ſevere; but his memory gradually grew worſe and worſe; and as that decreaſed, and was impaired, he appeared every day more fretful and impatient. From the year 1739 to the latter end of 1741, his friends found his paſſions ſo violent and ungovernable, his memory ſo decayed, and his reaſon ſo depraved, that they took the utmoſt precautions to keep all ſtrangers from approaching him; for, till then, he had not appeared totally incapable of converſation: But, early in the year

1742,

1742, the ſmall remains of his underſtanding became entirely confuſed, and the violence of his rage increaſed abſolutely to a degree of madneſs. In this miſerable ſtate he ſeemed to be appointed as the firſt proper inhabitant for his own hoſpital: Eſpecially, as from an outrageous lunatic, he ſunk afterwards into a quiet, ſpeechleſs idiot; and dragged out the remainder of his life in that helpleſs ſituation. He died towards the latter end of October 1745. The manner of his death was eaſy, without the leaſt pang or convulſion. Even the rattling in his throat was ſcarce ſufficient to give any alarm to his attendants, till within ſome very little time before he expired. A man in full poſſeſſion of his reaſon would have wiſhed for ſuch a kind of diſſolution; but Swift was totally inſenſible of happineſs or pain. He had not even the power or expreſſion of a child; appearing, for ſome years before his death, reſerved only as an example to mortify human pride; and to reverſe that fine deſcription of human nature, which is given us by Shakeſpear in an inimitable manner: "What a piece of work "is man! how noble in reaſon! how infinite in "faculty! in form and moving, how expreſs "and admirable! in action, how like an angel! "in apprehenſion, how like a God! the beauty "of the world, the paragon of animals." Thus poets paint; but how vain and periſhable is the picture? The ſmalleſt thunderbolt from heaven blaſts it in a moment, and every tinct is ſo effectually

tually obliterated, that ſcarce the outlines of the figure remain.

Swift certainly foreſaw his fate. His frequent attacks of giddineſs, and his manifeſt defect of memory, gave room for ſuch apprehenſions. I have often heard him lament the ſtate of childhood and idiotiſm, to which ſome of the greateſt men of this nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned, as examples within his own time, the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Somers: And when he cited theſe melancholy inſtances, it was always with a heavy ſigh, and with geſtures that ſhewed great uneaſineſs, as if he felt an impulſe of what was to happen to him before he died.

Unleſs I am miſinformed, he died worth about twelve thouſand pounds, incluſive of the ſpecific legacies mentioned in his will, and which may be computed at the ſum of twelve hundred pounds; ſo that the remainder, near eleven thouſand pounds, is entirely applicable to the hoſpital for idiots and lunatics: A charitable foundation, particularly beneficial in theſe kingdoms, where the epidemic diſtemper of lunacy is ſo prevalent, that it will conſtantly furniſh the largeſt building with a ſufficient number of inhabitants.

Lunacy may in general be conſidered, as ariſing from a depraved imagination, and muſt therefore be originally owing to a fault in the body, or the mind. We ſee inſtances every day, where, in fevers, all the powers of ſenſe and rea-

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ſon are utterly overturned by a raging madneſs. This frenzy conquers, or is conquered ſoon: But, from more ſlow and chronical cauſes, ſuch obſtructions may be formed, as gradually to produce various degrees of this diſorder, and to remain invincible to the very laſt moments of life. Nothing more ſtrongly diſpoſes the mind to this depraved ſtate, than too fixed an attention to any particular object. Mr Locke, if my memory does not deceive me, defines madneſs as ariſing from ſome particular idea, or ſet of ideas, that make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the mind as to baniſh all others; and the perſons affected are chearful or melancholy, well tempered or fierce, according as the objects and ideas of their minds are different. From hence it is evident, that we ought to conſider the ſtrength of the mind, even in the purſuit of knowledge, and often to vary our ideas by exerciſe and amuſements; conſtantly fixing a ſtrict guard againſt any paſſion that may be prevalent in too high a degree, or may acquire an habitual ſtrength and dominion over us. Paſſions are the gales of life; and it is our part to take care that they do not ariſe into a tempeſt.

Love with all its charms, muſt be reſtrained within proper bounds, otherwiſe it will torture that breaſt which it was formed to delight. Love contains within itſelf a variety of other paſſions, and lays ſuch a foundation of madneſs in the mind, that the frenzy, in this particular caſe,

never fails to appear in its full force, and to diſplay itſelf in all its ſtrength of horror.

Religion, which can only make the mind happy, and is our ſureſt and beſt defence againſt the paſſions, if conſidered in a wrong and melancholy view, has often perverted the ſeat of reaſon, and given more inhabitants to Bedlam than any other cauſe. A religious lunatic is miſerable, even to the deepeſt tortures of deſpair.

The miſer, whom I muſt always rank among madmen, heaps up gold, with an anxiety that affects his looks, his appetite, and his ſleep. The wretch dreads poverty in the centre of plenty; and ſtarves, only becauſe he dares not taſte thoſe fruits which appear moſt agreeable to his deſires.

In ſome other ſpecies of madneſs, the perſons affected are really more happy than in their ſenſes, and it is almoſt a crime to baniſh the agreeable deluſion. You remember the caſe of the citizen of Argos, who, after a ſalutiferous doſe of hellebore, cried out,

Pol me occidiſtis, amici,
Non ſervaſtis (ait) cui ſic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim mentis gratiſſimus error.

Such again would be the caſe of the beau of Bedlam, who, amidſt darkneſs and confinement, ſtill retains his pride and ſelf-admiration; dreſſes himſelf up in ſtraw, inſtead of embroidery; and when ſuffered to go to the window, imagines

that he captivates every female, who chances to paſs through Moor-fields. Is not ſuch a man happier in his madneſs, than in his ſenſes?

To ſpecify the many different claſſes of madmen, would be endleſs. They are innumerable: So that it is almoſt a rare felicity to enjoy *mens ſana in corpore ſano*. Some men have owed their reputation and ſucceſs in the world, to a tincture of madneſs; while others, merely from a ſuperior underſtanding, have been ranked among lunatics. Of the latter ſort Hippocrates (whom I wiſh you to look upon as a claſſic author, as well as a phyſician) gives a remarkable inſtance in one of his letters. He ſays, he was ſent for by the people of Abdera, to cure Democritus of madneſs; but, to his ſurpriſe, he found him the wiſeſt man of the age, and, by his laughing manner of talking and reaſoning, he almoſt convinced Hippocrates, that all the reſt of the world, except Democritus, were mad. It is not improbable, that madneſs has been coæval with mankind. There have certainly been many inſtances of it among the Greeks and Romans. Among the Jews, the enthuſiaſtic fury of Saul, is equally remarkable with the ecſtatic rage of Nebuchadnezzar. Nor have any parts of the world, I believe, entirely eſcaped this raging evil. It was frequently miſtaken for inſpiration; and the prophetic Sybils were obliged to put on the airs and looks of madneſs, to obtain an implicit belief to their prophecies. From theſe ſacerdotal impoſitions,

mad

mad people reaped ſome remarkable advantages. They were often looked upon as meſſengers ſent by heaven, to declare the will of the gods, and the prophetical decrees of fate; they were revered as perſons ſacred and divine; and, inſtead of ſcourges, they received tokens of adoration. In how great a degree muſt the ſubtilty of prieſts have prevailed, when they could make one of the greateſt curſes that attends human life, appear one of the greateſt bleſſings?

Lunatics are ſo called, from the influence which the moon has over bodies, when its attractive power is greateſt; by which means, the preſſure of the atmoſphere being leſſened, the humours of the body are more rarefied, and produce a greater plenitude in the veſſels of the brain. This has been illuſtrated by our good and learned friend Dr Mead, in his treatiſe *De imperia lunæ et ſolis*: And I have particularly obſerved, that, in the laſt book which he publiſhed, intituled, *Monita et præcepta medica*, he takes notice, in his chapter *de inſania*, "That the blood of ſuch perſons, who have been moſt liable to this malady, was thick and ſizy; and, upon diſſection, their brain always appeared dry, and their veſſels filled with black ſluggiſh blood": From whence perhaps we may, in ſome meaſure, account for the principal ſource of Swift's lunacy; his countenance being dark, bilious, and gloomy, and his eyes ſometimes fixed and immovable for a long time. Horace, I remember, attributes the

madneſs of Oreſtes to a phyſical cauſe, where he ſays,

——————————————*vocando*
Hanc furiam, hunc aliud, juſſit quod ſplendida bilis.

So that diſeaſes, formed originally in the mind, often bring on this diſorder, and by degrees affect the body; eſpecially in ſuch conſtitutions as have any tendency to this diſtemper. But what can be the reaſon that it is ſo remarkably epidemical in theſe kingdoms? I am inclined to believe, that it muſt be owing to the groſſneſs of our food, and to our immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors; the one frequently cauſing the deepeſt melancholy, the other the moſt unlimited rage. Our climate is ſo variable and uncertain, and our atmoſphere is ſo perpetually filled with clouds and ſulphureous vapours, that theſe cauſes muſt neceſſarily have a great effect upon the natural impatience and inconſtancy of the inhabitants. We are apt to revel in a free indulgence of our paſſions; and they are as apt to agitate and enervate the fibres of the brain, and to imprint by degrees many fatal impreſſions, that can never be eradicated from the mind. Even the greateſt bleſſing we enjoy, the freedom of our laws, may, I am afraid, in ſome meaſure, contribute to thoſe raſh actions, that often end in dreadful murders of the worſt kind, parricide, and ſuicide. Men muſt be reckoned in the high-

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eſt claſs of lunatics, who are capable of offending the great Author of nature, by depriving themſelves of that life which he only has a right of taking away, becauſe he only had the power of giving it. No perſon in his ſenſes can voluntarily prefer death to life. Our deſires of exiſtence are ſtrong and prevalent: They are born with us; and our ideas of a future ſtate are not ſufficiently clear, to make us fond of hurrying into eternity, eſpecially as eternity itſelf muſt ever remain incomprehenſible to finite beings. Human nature has an abhorrence, and a terror of its own diſſolution. The philoſopher ſubmits to death, becauſe he looks upon it as a neceſſary event; in the mean time, he uſes every method of prudence, and every art of caution, to lengthen our life as far as he poſſibly can extend it, and to prevent the leaſt accident that may bring on death one hour ſooner than the laws of the human ſtructure require. The military hero meets the king of terrors more from the dictates of reaſon, than the impulſes of nature. His fame, his fortune, every object that can be dear to him, depend upon his reſolution to die. He expoſes himſelf to the danger of being deſtroyed, becauſe an effort of ſecuring his life, muſt be attended with contempt and infamy. But, on the other hand, who would wantonly chuſe death, unleſs he were agitated to ſuch a choice by the fumes and vapours of a diſtempered brain?

The ſubjects, where arbitrary power is eſtabliſhed, live in a continual ſtate of dread and apprehenſion, and all their other paſſions are ſubdued by fear; ſo that fewer inſtances of ſuicide have appeared in deſpotic governments, than in kingdoms where liberty is more prevalent, and where the paſſions are leſs reſtrained.

The diet, the air, and the political conſtitution of a country, give the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing character of the people; and as the characteriſtics change, the inhabitants undergo the ſame metamorphoſes. How different are the modern Italians from the ancient Romans? If Brutus were now living, he would probably acquieſce in the depending ſtate of a cardinal, and the Papal crown would be unanimouſly preſented to Cæſar.

The melancholy caſe of Dr. Swift, has, I find, ſeduced me into a long digreſſion. When I am writing to you, I give a full ſcope to my thoughts, and wander licentiouſly out of my ſphere. I aim at placing all obſervations in your way, which I think can be of any uſe in your future road of life. But why talk to you on the melancholy effects of madneſs? only to obſerve in general, that temperance, exerciſe, philoſophy, and true religion, are the ſureſt means to make men happy, and to preſerve them from a contagious malady, to which the inhabitants of theſe kingdoms are unfortunately liable.

A ſtate of idiotiſm is leſs deplorable, not leſs ſhocking than that of madneſs. Idiots are afflicted

flicted with no turbulent paſſions. They are innocent and harmleſs, and often excite pity, but never occaſion fear. The proverb tells us, *They are the favourites of Fortune.* But I ſuppoſe it alludes only to thoſe *fools who can number twenty rightly, and can tell the days of the week:* And alas! thoſe are no idiots in the eye of the law. The abſolute naturals owe their wretchedneſs to a wrong formation in their brain, or to accidents in their birth, or the dregs of fevers, and other violent diſtempers. The laſt was the caſe of the Dean of St Patrick's, according to the account ſent me by his two relations, Mrs Whiteway and Mr Swift; neither of whom, I think, make the leaſt mention of a deafneſs that from time to time attacked the Dean, and rendered him extremely miſerable. You will find him complaining of this misfortune in ſeveral parts of his writings; eſpecially in his letters to Dr Sheridan. Poſſibly ſome internal preſſure upon his brain might firſt have affected the auditory nerves, and then, by degrees, might have increaſed, ſo as entirely to ſtop up that fountain of ideas, which had before ſpread itſelf in the moſt diffuſive and ſurpriſing manner.

Having juſt now hinted to you the advantages that have accrued to madmen, I ought not to omit the honours that have been paid to fools. In former ages, the courts of France and England were not thought completely embelliſhed without a favourite idiot, who bore the title of

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the King's jeſter, and who was as remarkably diſtinguiſhed by a cap and bells, as his royal maſter was diſtinguiſhed by a diadem and robes. This animal, like Junius Brutus, frequently aſſumed the face and behaviour of folly, to anſwer his own particular views and advantages. His bluntneſs and ſimplicity recommended him in thoſe places, where truths, if ſpoken by a man of ſenſe, were diſagreeable and dangerous. If he had not the honour, like Brutus, to ſave his country, at leaſt he had the happineſs to ſecure himſelf; and his expreſſions were often ſo full of humour and ſarcaſm, that, to this day, they are recorded as pieces of wit. Such was the famous reply of Archy to K. James I. when his Majeſty, amidſt all his wiſdom, was ſufficiently inſpired with folly, to ſend his only ſon into Spain. But fools at preſent are no longer admired in courts; or, if they are, they appear there without their cap and bells.

And now, to quit reflections that tend in general rather to terrify than to improve the underſtanding, let me obſerve, in honour of my friend Swift, that his eſtabliſhment of an hoſpital for idiots and lunatics is remarkably generous; as the unhappy perſons who receive the benefit, muſt for ever remain inſenſible of their benefactor.

An Account of a MONUMENT erected to the memory of DR SWIFT in Ireland, taken from the DUBLIN JOURNAL.

SIR,

I Have at laſt finiſhed what you have often heard me wiſh I might be able to do, a monument for the greateſt genius of our age, the late Dean of St Patrick's. The thing in itſelf is but a trifle; but it is more than I ſhould ever have attempted, had I not with indignation ſeen a country (ſo honoured by the birth of ſo great a man, and ſo faithfully ſerved by him all his life) ſo long and ſo ſhamefully negligent in erecting ſome monument of gratitude to his memory. Countries are not wiſe in ſuch a neglect; for they hurt themſelves. Men of genius are encouraged to apply their talents to the ſervice of their country, when they ſee in it gratitude to the memory of thoſe that have deſerved well of them. The ingenious Pere Caſtell told me at Paris, that he reckoned it the greateſt misfortune to him that he was not born an Engliſhman; and when he explained himſelf, it was only for this, that after two hundred years they had erected a monument to Shakeſpear; and another to a modern, but to the greateſt of them, Sir Iſaac Newton. Great ſouls are very diſintereſted in the affairs of life; they look for fame and immortality,

mortality, ſcorning the mean paths of intereſt and lucre: And, ſurely, in an age ſo mercenary as our's, men ſhould not be ſo ſparing to give public marks of their gratitude to men of ſuch virtue, dead, however they may treat them living; ſince in ſo doing, they beſpeak, and almoſt inſure to themſelves a ſucceſſion of ſuch uſeful perſons in ſociety. It was with this view that I determined to throw in my mite.

In a fine lawn below my houſe, I have planted an hippodrome. It is a circular plantation, conſiſting of five walks; the central of which is a horſe-courſe, and three rounds make exactly a mile. All the lines are ſo laid out, that, from the centre, the ſix rows of trees appear but one, and form 100 arches round the field; in the centre of which I have erected a mount, and placed a marble column on its proper pedeſtal, with all the decorations of the order; on the ſummit of which I placed a Pegaſus, juſt ſeeming to take flight to heaven; and on the dye of the pedeſtal I have ingraved the following inſcription, wrote by an ingenious friend:

In memoriam JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P. *viri ſine pari.*

Aonidum fontes aperis, divine poeta,
Arte nova; æthereas propriis ut Pegaſus alis
Scande domos: Æternum addet tua fama columnæ
Huic memori decus; hic, tanti qua poſſumus umbram
Nominis in mentem, ſacro revocare quotannis
Ludorum ritu juvat; hic, tibi parvus honorum
Offertur cumulus: Laudum quo fine tuorum
Copia claudatur qui quærit, gentis Iernæ
Pectora ſcrutetur, latumque interroget orbem.

1750.

I have alſo appointed a ſmall fund for annual premiums to be diſtributed in the celebration of games at the monument yearly. The ceremony is to laſt three days, beginning the 1ſt of May yearly. On this day, young maids and men in the neighbourhood are to aſſemble in the hippodrome, with their garlands and chaplets of flowers, and to dance round the monument, ſinging the praiſes of this ingenious patriot, and ſtrowing with flowers all the place: After which they are to dance for a prize; the beſt dancer among the maids is to be preſented with a cap and ribbands; and after the dance, the young men are to run for a hat and gloves.

The ſecond day, there is to be a large market upon the ground: And the girl who produces the fineſt hank of yarn, and the moſt regular reel and count, is to have a guinea premium; and the perſon who buys the greateſt quantity of yarn, is to have a premium of two guineas.

The third day, the farmer who produces the beſt yearling calf of his own breed, is to have two guineas premium; and he that produces the faireſt colt or filly, of his own breed likewiſe, not over two years old, ſhall receive a premium of two guineas alſo.—Thus the whole will not exceed ten pounds; and all theſe uſeful branches of our growth and manufacture will be encouraged, in remembering the patron, who, with ſo much care and tenderneſs, recommended them to others, and cheriſhed them himſelf. *I am*, &c.

END *of* VOL. XI.

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